



BRITAIN

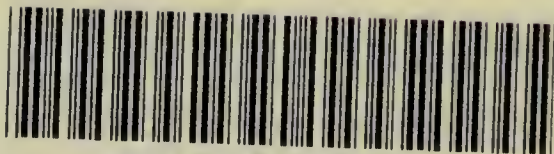
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BRITAIN B.C.
As Described in Classical Writings

WITH AN INQUIRY INTO THE POSITIONS OF
THE CASSITERIDES AND THULE

AND

AN ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN THE ANCIENT COAST-LINE OF
KENT AND EAST SUSSEX

BY

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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
2. CASSITERIDES	8
3. THULE	30
4. BEFORE CÆSAR	47
5. DRUIDS	58
6. COAST OF KENT AND EAST SUSSEX	62
7. RUTUPE	110
8. RIVER STOUR	129
9. COAST OF FRANCE AND CÆSAR'S STARTING-POINTS	140
10. CÆSAR IN GAUL	151
11. CÆSAR'S FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN	161
12. CICERO'S DATES	200
13. SECOND INVASION—START AND LANDING	211
14. „ „ NIGHT MARCH	223
15. „ „ NATIVES AND GEOGRAPHY	234
16. „ „ BATTLES	241
17. „ „ FORD	247
18. „ „ NORTH OF THAMES AND BACK	268
19. CONCLUSIONS	275

MAPS

	PAGE
CASSITERIDES AND SCILLY ISLANDS	22
LEVELS OF KENT AND SUSSEX	80
RUTUPLE	116
COAST OF FRANCE	140

AUTHORS & BOOKS QUOTED FROM

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 Ammianus Marcellinus
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| <i>Infantry Drill</i> | direct) |
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| Lucan | Stow, John |
| Lyon, Rev. J. | Strabo |
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| Mela, Pomponius | Suetonius |
| Murray, John | Tacitus |
| Napoleon III., his officers | Thoresby |
| Nennius | Tibullus, Albius |
| <i>Notitia Imperii Romani</i> | Timæus (indirect) |
| Orosius, Paulus | Twine, John |
| Peutinger, Conrad | Tyrrel, B. R. |
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Hergt, Gustav	Richard of Cirencester
Hildebrand, Hans	Seeböhm, Frederic
James, Sir Henry	Trollope, Anthony
	<i>Welsh Triads</i>

BRITAIN B.C.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE history of Britain before the Christian era has not yet been written. In most histories of England one or two paragraphs are considered sufficient for the time before Cæsar, and these are founded upon one or two passages in the classics. Cæsar's invasions are only mentioned very shortly. It is only the archæological side of the question that has received much attention. Books and papers have been written about Stonehenge and Avebury, burial mounds, flint instruments, skeletons and races of men, all of which are important parts of history. No serious attempt has been made to bring together all the information that can be found in classical writings relating to particular facts. Without this, no history can be reliable. It is this classical side of the question that will

chiefly be considered in this volume; and in connection with this, it will be necessary to consider what changes there have been in the coast line since Cæsar's time. The information thus brought together will form a considerable addition to the materials for a history.

The *Monumenta Historica Britannica* by Petrie and Sharpe is an excellent collection of passages referring to Britain from classical, Anglo-Saxon, and other writers. It is an enormous book, containing information to a much later date than is wanted here. It is arranged according to authors, and the various passages relating to any fact are not near one another. Very little use has been made of this book here.

The information that is to be gained from classical writers about the time before Cæsar is not sufficient to form a history, but it gives some idea of the state of civilisation of the people in very early times. They were by no means barbarians, as it has been the custom to call them. This agrees with what we learn from archæology. The builders of Stonehenge and Avebury cannot have been wandering tribes. Neither can they have been little States constantly at war with one another. The Saxons and Danes, who were always fighting, have left us no buildings except a few churches.

When we come to Cæsar's time there is more

information. Besides his own description of his invasions of Britain, these are mentioned by a number of other classical writers. More is known of these invasions than of anything else that happened in this country for a thousand years after. What is known of those thousand years is so little that we almost forget them. It is difficult to believe Ethelred and Canute were nearer to our own time than to the time of Cæsar. More is known about the invasion of Cæsar than about the invasion of William the Conqueror. A great deal has been written about Cæsar in modern times, mostly in the shape of papers upon various points, such as his place of landing. The notes in some of the editions of his works are very useful. The two best books found upon the subject are *Cæsar in Kent*, by Rev. F. T. Vine, and *The Invasions of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, by Thomas Lewin. Vine makes Cæsar land near Deal. He gives no maps. Lewin gives several maps and numbers of quotations. He makes Cæsar land to the west of Dover. I believe that this book is out of print.

No book about Cæsar's invasions has been written by an English military man. The little knowledge that I have of military matters is derived from twenty-three years' service in the Volunteers and studying military books. Though knowledge acquired in this way may not be deep,

still it makes a difference in looking at Cæsar's movements. These movements cannot be properly considered without thoroughly studying the changes in the coast line and the rivers. Many writers have gone wrong from not considering these changes. Map-makers are much to blame. Maps of ancient Britain show the coast line as it is now.

I make no pretence to being a classical scholar. I have forgotten all the Greek I ever knew, and have to trust to translations from that language, which is a drawback. My opinion as to the exact meaning of a doubtful Latin passage is not worth much, but I know enough of the language not to translate "plumbum album," "white lead," as is done in a note of a well-known edition of Cæsar. I do not know Anglo-Saxon or Welsh. Want of deep classical knowledge is to some extent made up for by the arrangement adopted. In nearly every case except Cæsar's writings actual quotations are given, with reference to chapter and verse, —Latin in the original, Greek and Anglo-Saxon from translations. The reader can thus see whether the conclusions drawn from the passages are justified, and can, if he thinks fit, verify the quotations. My ignorance of Welsh is unfortunate, because there are a number of Welsh Triads which have never been translated.

Great pains has been taken to collect all the

information about Britain that is contained in classical writings, as will be seen by the list of authors and books quoted from and referred to. With regard to changes in the coast line and rivers, it has, of course, not been possible to read everything. Search has been made in books written in Anglo-Saxon times and in Domesday Book. From that time on, the histories are so numerous and the information likely to be gained from them so small that it has not been thought worth while to read them. After 1500, the Wars of the Roses being finished, men began to turn their minds to antiquarian matters, and books have been found containing information. Local guides and local histories have been found useful, and also journals of some of the learned societies.

No book or paper has been found about British roads, except two about the Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury, neither of which gives much help as to the British origin of the Way. It is thought that there must be many papers on British roads in the proceedings of some of the learned societies, but this subject can be better followed up by someone who knows more about it.

No notice will be taken of the Welsh Triads which give a description of Cæsar's invasions. They differ greatly from Cæsar's narrative. R. W. Morgan

quotes them in many places in his book *British Kymry*, and Vine quotes Morgan. They have not been translated into English, except partially. Until they are translated it is impossible for Englishmen to discuss the question whether they are historical. From their remaining so long untranslated, it looks as if no one attached much value to them. No notice will be taken of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the general opinion being that his writings are spurious. No reliance will be placed upon local traditions. It is thought improbable that any can have survived the invasions of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, let alone the length of time. Places called Cæsar's camps will be ignored. Even if they are Roman, which is often doubtful, there is nothing to show that they were made by Julius Cæsar, and the chances are that they were not. Etymology will be avoided. It is a dangerous game in unskilled hands. With sufficient imagination, you may derive anything from anything else. One writer derives Wissant from Portus Itius. However, it is well to remember that any town ending in ey, eye, ei, or ea, as Pevensey, Northeys, Bexley, or Winchelsea, was probably built upon an island, even though it now appears to be upon the mainland. No attempt will be made to inquire into the different races that have inhabited this

island. All of Cæsar's time and earlier will be talked of as Britons.

It has been thought well to collect all the information that could be found upon the points discussed in the various chapters, even though it is not sufficient to enable us to come to any definite conclusion. This is the case, among others, in the chapters on the River Stour and the Ford. Both these questions have been brought forward a step, and left in such a state that a little more information will enable someone else to carry them a step further.

My best thanks are due to my friend Dr Talfourd Ely for the great assistance he has given me in writing this book, He has saved me from making several classical mistakes.

It has not been thought advisable to discuss the opinions of modern writers upon the points written about in this volume. This would take too long. The whole subject is treated almost as if those writings did not exist, though many of them have been studied. In most cases these writers have discussed the questions without having before them all the information that could be obtained.

CHAPTER II

THE CASSITERIDES

I WAS taught in my youth that the first thing that was known about England was that the Phœnicians traded with Cornwall for tin. This rests upon the supposition that the Scilly Islands are the Cassiterides of the ancients. The belief in this appears to be almost universal. I have looked into the books upon my own shelves, two Classical Dictionaries, two Classical Atlases, two Gazetteers, one Dictionary of Dates, and one Encyclopædia. All agree that the Scilly Islands are the Cassiterides. Only one qualifies the statement by using the words "are supposed to have been." It does not signify to these authorities that Cornwall is not one of the Scilly Islands, and that ancient writers have described the Cassiterides as being in quite a different place. It only signifies to them that it is the accepted belief, and rests upon something said by Strabo or Pliny, or some other old writer.

Leaving out the writings of Richard of Cirencester, which are considered spurious, the first writer found who calls the Scilly Islands the Cassiterides is Camden in his *Britannia* (A.D. 1607). The only foundation for this belief is a passage in Strabo (A.D. 25), which has been twisted in its meaning, and taken without the context, and without looking to what Strabo has written in other places.

Strabo, *Geography*, book ii. chap. v. par. 15.—Northward and opposite to the Artabri are the islands denominated Cassiterides, situated in the high seas, but under nearly the same latitude as Britain.

The Artabri lived in the north-west corner of Spain. Other passages in Strabo show that he did not think that the Cassiterides were included in the British Isles.

In order to understand properly this sentence of Strabo's, it is necessary to consider carefully the belief of the ancients as to the relative position of England and Spain. They thought that Cornwall was much to the south of where it really is, and that the north-west corner of Spain was farther north than it really is. Some appear to have been ignorant of the existence of the Bay of Biscay, and to have thought that the north coast of Spain was nearly a continuation of the north-west coast of France, San Sebastian being close to Ushant. Some.

thought that the north coast of Spain ran, not due east and west, but south-east and north-west.

Cæsar is the first author whose writings are now extant who mentions this subject. He is evidently copying from someone else. He had been in Aquitania, and the country of the Veneti, near the northern end of the Bay of Biscay, so that he must have known something of the extent of that bay. He had not been near Cornwall. He writes of Britain :—

Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. v. cap. xiii.—Insula natura triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appelluntur ad orientem solem; inferior ad Meridiem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter millia passuum D. Alterum vergit in Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut æstimatur, quam Britannia; sed pari spatio transmissus, atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam.

In Strabo (A.D. 25) are two passages relating to this question, one of which has been partly quoted; the other is in his description of Britain. The Sacred Promontory is Cape St Vincent, in the south of Portugal.

Strabo, *Geography*, book ii. chap. v. par. 15.—They, on the contrary, who sail from the Sacred Promontory towards the Artabri, journey northwards, having Lusitania on the right hand. The remaining portion forms an obtuse angle towards the east as far as the extremities of the Pyrenees which terminate at the ocean. Northward and opposite to this are the western coasts of Britain. Northward and opposite

to the Artabri are the islands denominated Cassiterides, situated in the high seas, but under nearly the same latitude as Britain.

Book iv. chap. v. par. 1.—Britain is triangular in form; its longest side lies parallel to Keltica, in length neither exceeding nor falling short of it; for each of them extends as much as 4300 or 4400 stadia: the side of Keltica extending from the mouths of the Rhyne to the northern extremities of the Pyrenees towards Aquitaine; and that of Britain, which commences at Kent, its most eastern point, opposite to the mouths of the Rhine, extending to the western extremity of the island, which lies over against Aquitaine and the Pyrenees.

Pliny (A.D. 79) does not go so much into detail, but appears to have the same idea of the position of the two countries.

C. Plinii secundi, *Historia Mundi*, lib. iv. cap. xvi.—Ex adverso hujus situs Britannia Insula, clara Græcis nostrisque monumentis, inter septentrionem et occidentem jacet: Germaniæ, Galliæ, Hispaniæ, multo maximis Europæ partibus magno intervallo adversa.

Dion Cassius (A.D. 229) says much the same.

Dionis Cassei, *Historia*, lib. xxxvix. sec. 50.—Britannia millibus passuum ad minimum LVI. a Galliæ parte ea, quam Morini habitant, distat, vergit autem præter cæteram Galliam, fereque totam Hispaniam, in mare sese extendens.

Orosius (A.D. 400) makes Spain opposite England, though at a great distance, and places Ireland between England and Spain.

Pauli Orosii Presbyteri, *Hispani adversus Paganos Historiarum libri septem*, lib. i. cap. ii.—Hispania. Secundus angulus circium intendit: ubi Brigantia Caleciæ civitas sita, altissi-

mam pharum, et inter pauca memorandi operis, ad speculam erigit. . . . Et quoniam oceanus habet insulas, quas Britanniam et Hiberniam vocant, quæ in adversa Galliarum parte ad prospectum Hispaniæ sitæ sunt, breviter explicabuntur. . . . Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita longiore ab africo in boriam spatio porrigitur. Hujus partes priores intentes Cantabrico oceano, Brigantiam Caleciæ civitatem ab africo sibi in circium occurrentem, spatioso intervallo procul spectant.

In the following passages Bede copied his statement about England from Pliny, but not his statement about Ireland.

Venerabilis Bedæ, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. i. caput v. sec. 4.—Britannia oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit, inter septentrionalem et occidentem locata est, Germaniæ, Galliæ, Hispaniæ, maximis Europæ partibus, multo intervallo adversa.

Lib. ii. caput v. sec. 7.—Est autem Hibernia insula omnium post Brittanium maxima, ad occidentem quidem Brittania sita; sed sicut contra aquilonem ea brevior, ita in meridiem se trans illius fines plurimum protrudens usque contra Hispaniæ septentrionalia, quamvis magno æquore interjacente, pervenit.

These passages show that the writers were quite ignorant of the relative positions of England and Spain, and that Strabo's statement about the Cassiterides being nearly in the same latitude as Britain does not mean that the Cassiterides are close to Cornwall. I have only found one place in which the Phœnicians are mentioned as trading with the Cassiterides. It is in Strabo, and will be

given later on. From this passage it is clear that Strabo knew that the Cassiterides were distinct from Britain. He and other writers describe them as off the north-west corner of Spain. Tin from England was taken over the English Channel to France, and then overland to Marseilles. Tin from the Cassiterides was taken by sea down the coast of Portugal to the Mediterranean. In England it was dug out of mines. In the Cassiterides and the neighbouring mainland it was found near the surface.

There are only two places in the world, or at least in the eastern hemisphere, where large and permanent supplies of tin have been found. These are Cornwall and an island in the East Indies called Banca. Both these were known in ancient times, and the supply appears to be unlimited. It has been found in many other places in smaller quantities—north-west Spain, Portugal, Bohemia, Saxony, the East Indies, etc. In many places where it was formerly found the supply has come to an end.

Edinburgh Gazetteer, 1822.—Galicia, an extensive province, forming the north-west angle of Spain, though belonging, from its position, more naturally to Portugal. It is bounded on the north and west by the Atlantic. . . . Galicia contained in former times productive mines of gold and silver. These are now exhausted, but in the mountains are still found copper, lead, and tin.

João Baptista de Castro, *Mappa de Portugal*, 1745.—We have tin, and that fine, in Amarante, Bouzella, S. Pedro do Sul.

VIGO, 13 April 1891.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favour of the 7th inst. In reply, I have to inform you that no tin is at present found in the islands at the entrance of Vigo and Arosa Bay, and that I never heard that any tin was found at those places in former times.

There are at present some small mines of tin about three miles from the coast, between Carril and Muros.—I remain, Dear Sir, your obedient servant,

M. BARCENA Y F^{co}.

Henry Sharpe, Esq.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 857.—Scilly Islands . . . Quod autem has esse Cassiterides toties quæsitæ dixerim, facit antiquorum autoritas ipsarumque situs et stanni venæ, . . . et quod caput est cum Stanni, venas habeant, ut nullæ aliæ hoc tractu insulæ.

A Natural and Historical Account of the Islands of Scilly, etc., by Robert Heath, an officer of his majesty's forces, sometime in garrison at Scilly. London, 1750, p. 25.—Several of these islands afford tin, and some also lead and copper. The tin is discovered by the Banks next the sea, where the marks of the ore, in some places, are visible upon the surface. This I was assured by some very considerable Cornish Tinnners, in the year 1744, who desired me to make representation thereof to the present proprietor for obtaining his lordship's consent for their working the tin and other metals in Scilly, wherein they proposed a certain share to his lordship free of expenses: but I did not succeed.

Early Man in Britain, by W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Curator of the Manchester Museum, and Professor of Geology and Palæontology in Owen's College, Manchester. London, 1880, p. 402.—In Germany tin has been worked from time immemorial in the mountains

of Saxony and Bohemia, and, from the great number and variety of the bronze articles found in the adjacent regions, it is very likely that it was known in these districts in the Bronze age. On this point, however, we must wait the accumulation of evidence. It has been worked in Cornwall before the history of Britain began, and, according to tradition, by the Phœnicians. . . . Tin has also been worked in ancient times in the south of Ireland, where it is found in the stream-works of the mountains of Wicklow, along with gold.

P. 403.—Tin is met with in Brittany, close to Ploermel (Morbihan), and is proved to have been worked in the Bronze age by the discovery of a bronze palstave, along with a polished stone celt, in the old stream-works near Villeder. It was also known in ancient times in the Upper Vienne, and old stream-works are to be seen in La Creuse and La Correze, and as far as Lizolle in the department of the Allier.

We will now take in chronological order all the passages in which the Cassiterides are mentioned except those already quoted. Herodotus, who lived B.C. 445, is the first who mentions them. This passage is often erroneously considered to be the first notice of Britain.

Herodotus, *Thalia*, cxv.—Neither am I better acquainted with the islands called the Cassiterides, from which we are said to have our tin.

Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 50) gives a passage from Posidonius (B.C. 150), whose writings are lost. He does not mention who he is quoting from, but we know who it is, because Strabo gives the same passage in rather different words, and says that it is from Posidonius.

Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, book v. chap. ii. p. 322.—In many places of Spain there is found also tin, but not upon the surface of the ground, as some historians report, but they dig it up, and melt it down as they do gold and silver. Above Lusitania there is much of this tin metal, that is in the islands over against Iberia, which are therefore called the Cassiterides; and much of it is likewise transported out of Britain into Gaul, the opposite continent, which the merchants carry on horseback through the heart of Celtica to Marseilles and the city of Narbo, which city is the Roman colony, and the greatest mart town for wealth and trade in those parts.

Strabo gives more information about the Cassiterides than any other writer. It does not appear that he was ever there. Certainly most of his information is derived from other writers. One passage has already been quoted.

Strabo, *Geography*, book ii. chap. v. par. 30.—Fronting Europe lie the islands which we have mentioned. Without the Pillars, Gadeira, the Cassiterides, and the Britannic Isles.

Book iii. chap. ii. par. 9.—Posidonius.—He says that tin is not found upon the surface, as authors commonly relate, but that it is dug up; and that it is produced both in places among the barbarians who dwell beyond the Lusitanians and in the islands Cassiterides; and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to Marseilles. Amongst the Artabri, who are the last of the Lusitanians towards the north and west, he tells us that the earth is powdered with silver tin and white gold, that is, mixed with silver, the earth having been brought down by the rivers; this the women scrape up with spades, and wash in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. Such is the substance of what [Posidonius] tells us concerning the mines [of Iberia].

The next passage is the only one in which the Phœnicians are mentioned as trading with the Cassiterides.

Strabo, *Geography*, book iii. chap. v. par 11.—Posidonius. . . . The Cassiterides are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean towards the north from the haven of the Artabri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast and walking with staves, thus resembling the Furies we see in tragic representations. They subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. Of the metals they have tin and lead, which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels. Formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gades, concealing the passage from every one; and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster, that they also might find the market, the shipmaster of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on these to follow him into the same destructive disaster; he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the state the value of the cargo he had lost. The Romans nevertheless by frequent efforts discovered the passage, and as soon as Publius Crassus, passing over to them, perceived that the metals were dug out at a little depth, and that the men were peaceably disposed, he declared it to those who already wished to traffic in this sea for profit, although the passage was longer than to Britain. Thus far concerning Iberia and the adjacent islands.

Pomponius Mela (A.D. 60) mentions Erythea and other islands, supposed to be the Burlings, off the coast of Portugal, a little north of Lisbon. Then he mentions the Cassiterides, and then some islands in the British sea, showing that

he did not consider the Cassiterides to be in the British sea.

Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii. cap. vi.—In Lusitania Erythia, quam Geryone habitam accepimus, aliœque sine certis nominibus; adeo agri fertiles ut cum semel sata frumenta sint, subinde recedivis seminibus segetem novantibus, septem minimum, interim plures etiam messes ferant. In Celticis aliquot sunt, quas, quia plumbo abundant, uno omnes nomine Cassiterides appellant. Sena in Britannico mari Ossismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est.

C. Plinii secundi [A.D. 79], *Historia Mundi*, lib. iv. cap. xxii.—Insulæ in Oceano. Hispania.—Ex adverso Celtiberiæ complures sunt insulæ, Cassiterides dictæ Græcis e fertilitate plumbi: ete regione Arrotebarum promontarii Deorum sex quas alicui fortunatas appellavere.

Ptolemy (A.D. 160) gives very important information. In his *Geography* he gives the latitude and longitude of a great many capes, towns, and mouths of rivers. From these it is possible to construct maps. Roughly speaking, his main outlines are right, but his details wrong. As to Spain and England he is fairly right, both as to their size and their distance from one another. He makes the Land's End $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north of Spain; we make it 6. He makes the Land's End 6 degrees east of the west coast of Spain; we make it only $3\frac{1}{2}$. The following are the positions that he gives of the Cassiterides and places near them. His 0 of longitude is to the west of Spain.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, lib. ii. cap. vi.—Hispaniæ Taronensis situs.

Artebrorum portus	5.20	45
Nerium promontorium	5.14	45.10
post Nerium promontorium aliud prom ^m	5.20	45.10

In occidentali autem oceano Insulæ decem Cattiterides dictæ. Cassiterides ceteri vocant a plumbi stannique copia, quod *κασσιτερος* dicitur, quarum medium gradus . 4 45.30

Præterea Deorum insulæ duæ, quarum medium habet 4.40 43.20

A map of Spain drawn from Ptolemy's figures shows that Nerium Promontorium is the north-west corner of Spain, a little to the north of Cape Finisterre. Measured from this, Ptolemy's Artebrorum Portus would be Corcubion Bay, but his short distances are not to be relied on. Corcubion Bay is not a good harbour, being too much open to the Atlantic waves. There are several better harbours a little further south, particularly Vigo Bay. He makes the Cassiterides 50 miles west-north-west of the Nerium Promontorium, and the Insulæ Deorum off the mouth of the Minho, where there are no islands. These positions are not correct, but it is quite clear that he knew that the Cassiterides were near the north-west corner of Spain, and not near Britain.

Dionysius Periegetes (A.D. 220) makes a mistake as to the position of the tin islands, placing them

off the Promontorium Sacrum or Cape St Vincent. He places Britain off the Rhine.

Dionysius Periegetes (Alex.), l. 561.—At sub promontario Sacro quod perhibent caput esse Europæ, Insulisque Hesperidibus [occiduis] ubi stannei origo, divites habitant illustrium liberi Iberorum. Aliæ autem Oceani ad borealia littora duæ insulæ sunt Britannicæ, contra Rhenum.

Solinus (A.D. 238) places the Cassiterides off the side of Celtiberia. Celtiberia was a part of Spain or Portugal, but which part it is uncertain.

C. Julii Solini, *Polyhistor.*, caput xxvi.—De Hispania, etc. . . . Cassiterides insulæ spectant adversum Celtiberiæ latus, plumbi fertiles.

There are a few passages besides those already given in which tin in England is mentioned. Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny do not confuse the Cassiterides with England. Cæsar does not mention the Cassiterides, but he mentions tin in England.

Polybii, *Historiarum Reliquiæ*, lib. iii. cap. lvii. 2 and 3.—Quærent enim fortasse nonnulli de Britannicis insulis, et stanni confectione, de auri argentique metallis in Hispania.

Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. v. cap. xii.—Britannia. . . . Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum sed ejus exigua est copia: ære utuntur importato.

The promontory Balerium mentioned by Diodorus Siculus is Cornwall.

Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, book v. chap. ii.—Britain. . . . Now we will speak something of the tin that

is dug and gotten there. They that inhabit the British promontory Balerium, by reason of their converse with merchants, are more civilised and courteous to strangers than the rest are. These are the people that make the tin, which with a great deal of care and labour they dig out of the ground; and that being rocky, the metal is mixed with some veins of earth, out of which they melt the metal, and then refine it; then they beat it into four-square pieces like to a dye, and carry it to a British isle near at hand, called Ictis. For at low tide, all being dry between them and the island, they convey over in carts abundance of tin in the meantime. But there is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe: for at full sea they appear to be islands, but at low water for a long way they look like so many peninsulas. Hence the merchants transport the tin they buy of the inhabitants to France; and for thirty days' journey they carry it in packs upon horses' backs through France to the mouth of the river Rhone.

I shall explain about these islands later on.

According to Pliny, Timæus (B.C. 256) says that tin comes from the island Mictis, six days' sail from Britain, and that it is brought in boats made of wattles covered with hides. Coracles could not be used for a six days' voyage at sea. It is more likely that it was a coasting voyage from Cornwall to Kent. Mictis may be the same as Ictis mentioned by Diodorus Siculus.

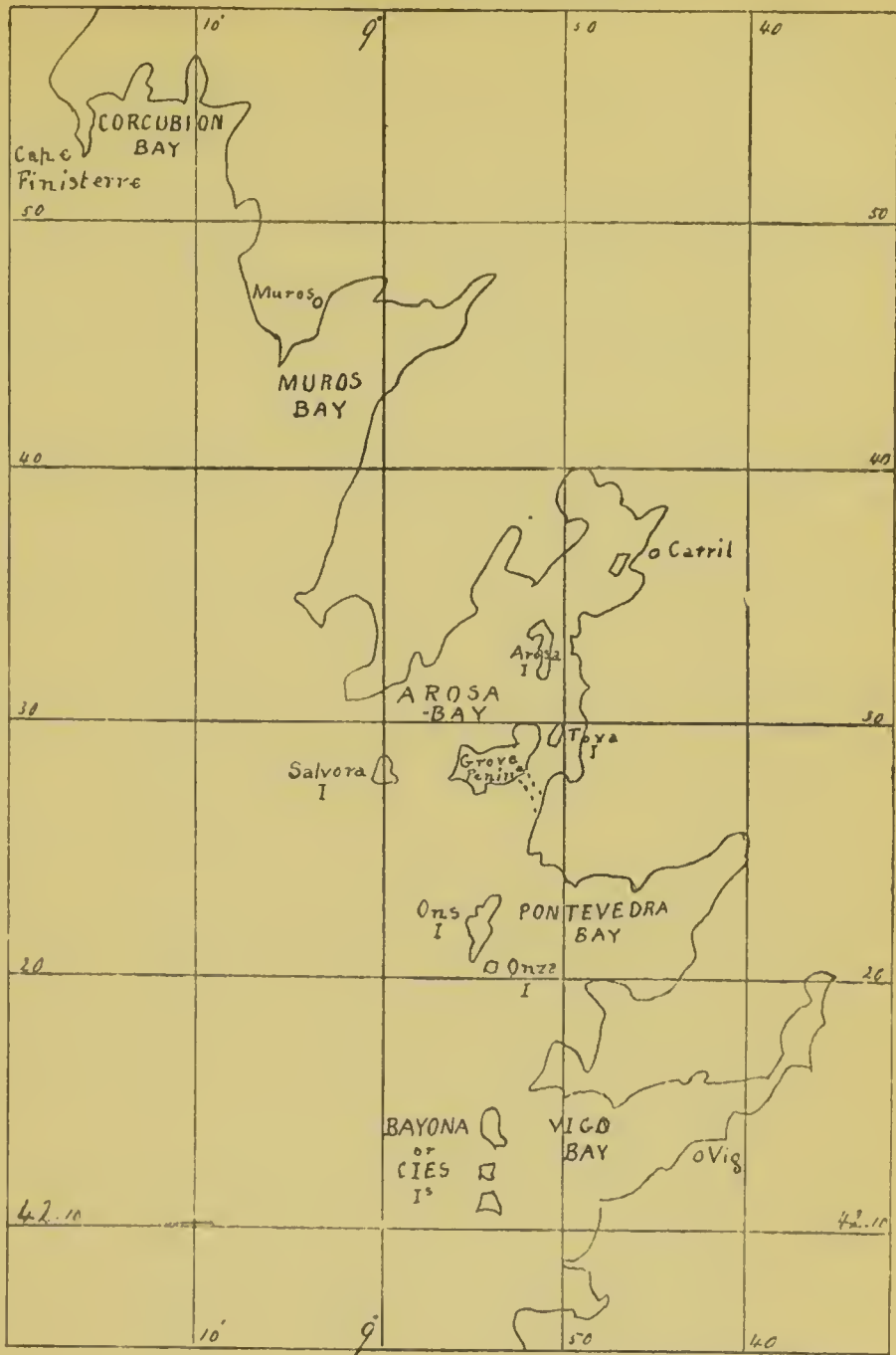
C. Plinii secundi, *Historia Mundi*, lib. iv. cap. xvii.—Timæus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat. Ad eam Britannos navigiis corio circumsutis navigare.

The evidence that I have quoted proves that the Cassiterides were not near England, but were close to the north-west corner of Spain, and to the west of it. The exact position cannot be found from the old writers. The country of the Artabri is not known exactly, and the haven of the Artabri is not known.

The maps of Spain and Portugal that we are in the habit of seeing are on so small a scale that they hardly show the islands on the west coast. On the west of Portugal are the Burlings, some very small islands off the coast a little north of Lisbon. Further north, there are none till Vigo Bay is reached. There are several islands at the entrance to Vigo Bay and to the north of it. They look very small upon the map, but they are larger than the Scilly Islands. I have drawn maps of both on the same scale. The largest of the Spanish islands is called the Grove peninsula, being now connected with the mainland by a sand bank. Is this the sand bank on which the Phœnician shipmaster ran his ship? Besides the islands that I have shown in the map, there are many smaller ones. Some of these have shallow water round them, and many have been much larger 2000 years ago. Others may have been completely washed away. It is not possible to point out the ten mentioned by Posidonius with any certainty.

CASSITERIDES.

SCILLY I^s



5 10 Nautical Miles

My correspondent at Vigo, already quoted, says that there are some small mines of tin about 3 miles from the coast, between Carril and Muros. This is close to the islands. I have also shown from several writers, ancient and modern, that there was tin in this part of Spain and in Portugal. It is therefore not improbable that it may have been found on the adjacent islands.

No ancient writer has said that the Phœnicians traded with Britain, and no traces of them have been found in Cornwall or the Scilly Islands, or in any part of England, neither coins, nor inscriptions, nor anything else. There is no reason to suppose that they ever were here. On the subject of remains, I will quote Sir John Lubbock, now Lord Avebury, and Professor Boyd Dawkins.

Prehistoric Times, by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., 5th edition, 1890, p. 77.—It is very remarkable that scarcely any traces of ancient commerce have been found in Cornwall, and it is much to be regretted that our museums possess so few specimens of Phœnician art. When these wants shall have been supplied, as we may hope that ere long they will be, there is no doubt that much light will be thrown on the subject.

In answering a letter asking for particulars, Sir John Lubbock did not mention where any trace of ancient commerce might be found, nor in what museum there was a specimen of Phœnician art.

Early Man in Britain, by W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A, Curator of the Manchester Museum, and

Professor of Geology and Palæontology in Owen's College, Manchester. London, 1880, p. 421.—Commercial relations of Britain in the Bronze age. It may be answered that there is no proof of any direct intercourse with any southern people.

P. 460.—Phœnicians. . . . They may have introduced into the west, and they probably did introduce, vast quantities of swords, daggers, spears, glass beads, and other things; but these cannot be identified as Phœnician because of the absence of distinctive design.

P. 461.—No tombs or other remains distinctively Phœnician have been discovered in any part of the British Isles.

Rufus Festus Avienus (A.D. 390) is sometimes quoted as saying that Himilco (B.C. 500) came to the Scilly Islands. I can find nothing of the sort in his poem, which is full of geographical mistakes. Even if Avienus made this statement it would be of no value. He lived 890 years after Himilco, and no writer before him made any such statement that can be found. His poem is no more historical than Virgil's *Æneid* or Fenelon's *Telemaque*.

In all my inquiries I have not found a single statement by an ancient writer, or argument by a modern writer, showing that the Scilly Islands are the Cassiterides, and I have not been able to find out what was the origin of this belief. Some few people, but very few indeed, have thought that the Cassiterides were where I have placed them. The only good paper that I have seen on the subject is—

Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques: Compte Rendu de la 7 session, Stockholm,

1874; Stockholm, 1876.—Sur la situation des Cassiterides, par M. Hans Hildebrand.

The writer works out the question from the classics in much the same manner that I have done, but unfortunately fails to find the right islands. He places the Cassiterides north of Corunna Bay, where there are no islands, and where the water is very deep.

There is an idea about that an ingot of tin was fished up out of Falmouth harbour with a Phœnician mark upon it. After a long search, the following is the only passage about it that can be found.

The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland, by J. Theodore Bent, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 1892, p. 182.—Also we found several waterworn stones, which had been used as burnishers, which was evidenced by the quantity of gold still adhering to them; and in the adjoining cave we dug up an ingot mould of soapstone of a curious shape, corresponding almost exactly to an ingot of tin found in Falmouth harbour, which is now in the Truro museum, and a cast of which may be seen at the School of Mines in Jermyn Street. This ingot of tin was undoubtedly made by Phœnician workmen, for it bears a punch mark thereon like those usually employed by workmen of that period; and Sir Henry James, in his pamphlet describing it, draws attention to the statement of Diodorus, that in ancient Britain ingots of tin were made ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμούς, or of the shape of astragali or knuckle-bones; and the form of both the ingots is such that the astragalus may easily be used as a rough simile to describe both. Probably this shape of ingot was common in the ancient world, for Sir John Evans, K.C.B., has called my attention to an ingot

mould somewhat similar in form, found in Dalmatia, and the Kaffirs, far north of the Zambesi, now make ingots of iron of a shape which might easily be supposed to have been derived from the astragalus ; but at the same time the finding of two ingots in two remote places where Phœnician influence has been proved to be so strong is very good presumptive evidence to establish the fact that the gold-workers of ancient Zimbabwe worked for the Phœnician market.

He does not actually say that the punch mark is Phœnician, but that it was used by workmen of that time. His chief reason for thinking the ingot of tin Phœnician is that Phœnician influence has been proved to be so strong in Cornwall. This is exactly what never has been proved. No one has attempted to prove it. Everyone takes it for granted. Unfortunately Bent is dead, so he cannot explain himself. He does not prove that the Phœnicians were in Mashonaland.

There is not a cast of the ingot of tin at the Museum of Economic Geology in Jermyn Street, which is apparently the institution he calls the School of Mines. There is only a full-size model of the ingot, and the marks on it do not agree with the marks on the ingot itself. The measurements are 2 ft. 11 in. by 11 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. It is not at all like the shape of a knuckle-bone, which measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in. by 1 in. The shape is much like a hand barrow or a stretcher, or, to name a more familiar object, a butcher's tray, with

longer and thicker handles than usual. The marks on the model are, a rough copy of the ingot, and in another place three triangles. Nothing is known at the museum about the marks being Phœnician, and Sir Henry James does not mention it in his pamphlet.

A letter to Cornwall brought the following reply:—

ROYAL INSTITUTION OF CORNWALL,
TRURO, 16th March 1898.

To Henry Sharpe, Esq.,
14 Kemplay Road, Hampstead.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to yours of 5th inst., forwarded from Falmouth, I will take your queries in order.

1. The only mark on the ingot is an astragalus, which may have been a kind of trade-mark, and I can find no mention of its being a Phœnician mark.

2. The weight of the block is 158 lbs.

3. No such shaped blocks are made now refers to Bent. . . .

4. No such mark is used to-day.

Trusting this may give you some assistance,—Yours sincerely,

R. A. GREGG, *Curator*.

Upon further examination, one triangle was found, a regular indentation, as with a triangular pointed stick.

The block is certainly not modern, but I have heard no date assigned to it.

The astragalus is apparently cut.

What Mr Gregg calls an astragalus I call a rough

copy of the ingot. The fact of its being cut, not punched, accounts for the slight difference in the shape. It would be possible to cut this mark with one chisel half an inch wide. To cut a mark the same size of the correct shape of the ingot, it would be necessary to use also a smaller chisel an eighth of an inch wide. This would have been more trouble. We do not know whether Bent had seen the ingot or only the model, and we do not know which mark he refers to.

The ingot of tin and the mould found in Mashonaland are so much alike that they probably had some connection. But there is nothing to show that they were not made 3000 years before the time of the Phœnicians, or they may have been after their time. The ingot may have been made of this peculiar shape in order that two men might carry it easily. We do not know the size of the mould found in Mashonaland, so we cannot say whether the same reason would apply to that.

Selous, who lived for many years in Mashonaland, and knows a great deal about the modern history of those parts, brings the gold-mining down to quite recent times, and says that moulds like the ingot from Falmouth are still in use. He quite upsets Bent's theories, and leaves no ground for supposing that there is any connection between the Phœnicians and the ingot.

Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa, by Frederick Courteney Selous, C.M.Z.S., 1893, chap. xviii. p. 335.—It is the Zulu migrations northwards through Mashunaland which have taken place during the present century—invasions that have absolutely depopulated large areas of country—that finally have obliged the Mashunas to cease working in the shafts which their ancestors had, centuries before, commenced to sink on the quartz reefs which abound in the country.

P. 335.—After this period Portuguese records abundantly prove that gold-mining went on without interruption till early in the present century.

P. 337.—In Katanga, the form of the mould into which the natives run their copper is almost identical in shape with the soapstone mould found by Mr Bent at Zimbabwi.

CHAPTER III

THULE

THERE is great difference of opinion as to the position of Thule, some people thinking that it was Iceland, others that it was one of the islands near Scotland. Some few have contended that it was in Norway ; but I leave this idea out for the present, and confine myself to the question whether it was Iceland or an island near Scotland. The difficulty has arisen from the name having been used to denote different places at different times. All the earlier writers are certainly describing a place a long way to the north of Britain. After the invasion of Claudius, some of them describe it as close to Scotland. Pytheas of Marseilles visited Thule about 300 B.C., and there is no report of anyone else going there for 600 years after his time. His writings have been lost, and we only find scraps of them repeated by other writers, sometimes two or three deep.

Considering the very little that has reached us

of the writings of Pytheas, we are fortunate in having three separate statements by him of the latitude of Thule. These agree with the latitude of Iceland. We have also several other statements, almost as precise, as to its position. Strabo (A.D. 25) is the writer from whom we learn most. Unfortunately, he thought that Pytheas was quite unreliable, and he often calls him a liar. Eratosthenes (B.C. 194), who is mentioned by Strabo, knew the size of the earth almost exactly, and could calculate the latitude of places, though not quite so accurately as is now done. Pytheas was an astronomer, and Strabo acknowledges the correctness of his reasoning in astronomy and mathematics. He calculated the latitude of Marseilles, and made a statement about the stars near the pole, as is shown in the following passages, which are ascribed to him by Gassendi (A.D. 1600), who quotes from older writers. He does not give chapter and verse.

Wendelinus, gnomon et umbra—ea proportionem quam habent 120 ad $41\frac{4}{5}$ —Massiliæ.

Eudoxus ab Hipparcho—in Polo nullam esse stellam sed vacuum esse locum cui tres stellæ adjaceant, quibuscum ipsum Poli punctum quadrangulum figuram efficiat.

The statements as to latitude are as follows:—

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. iv. par. 4.—Consequently the far region in which Eratosthenes places Thule must be

totally uninhabitable. By what guesswork he arrived at the conclusion that between the latitude of Thule and the Dnieper there was a distance of 11,500 stadia I am unable to divine.

11,500 stadia are equal to $1437\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles, which are equal to 1312 English miles. This is the correct distance from the mouth of the Dnieper to the latitude of Iceland.

Pliny (A.D. 70), *Natural History*, lib. ii. cap. cviii.—Ab ostio Tanais nihil modicum diligentissimi auctores fecere. . . . Isidorus (A.D. 2) adjecit XII. c. ML. usque ad Thule, quæ conjectura divinationis est.

This peculiar collection of letters is considered to mean 1250 Roman miles, equal to 1146 English miles, which is right to another part of Iceland.

Strabo, *Geography*, book ii. chap. v. par. 8.—It is true that Pytheas of Marseilles affirms that the farthest country north of the British islands is Thule, for which place he says the summer tropic and the arctic circle is all one. But he records no particulars concerning it: [he does not say] whether Thule is an island, or whether it continues habitable up to the point where the summer tropic becomes one with the arctic circle. . . . Modern writers tell us of nothing beyond Ierne, which lies just north of Britain, where the people live miserably and like savages on account of the severity of the cold.

The expression “the summer tropic and the arctic circle being one” is supposed to mean that Iceland is on the arctic circle.

The following passage from Strabo explains what he means by the Gnomon.

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. v. par. 53.—The Amphiscii are the inhabitants of countries in which, when a gnomon is placed perpendicularly on a plane surface, the shadow which it casts at mid-day falls first to one side, then to the other, as the sun illuminates first this side, then that. This, however, only occurs in places situated between the tropics. The heteroscii are those amongst whom the shadow always falls to the north, as with us; or to the south, as amongst those who inhabit the other temperate zone. This occurs in all those regions where the arctic circle is less than the tropic. Where, however, it becomes the same as or is greater than the tropic, this shows the commencement of the periscii, who extend thence to the pole. In regions where the sun remains above the horizon during an entire revolution of the earth, the shadow must evidently have turned in a complete circle round the Gnomon. On this account he named them periscii. However, they have nought to do with geography, inasmuch as the regions are not habitable on account of the cold, as we stated in our review of Pytheas. Nor is there any use in determining the size of this uninhabitable region; [it is enough to have established] that those countries having the tropic for their arctic circle are situated beneath the circle which is described by the pole of the zodiac in the [diurnal] revolution of the earth, and that the distance between the equator and the tropic equals four sixtieths of the great circle [of the earth].

Confirming the statements as to the latitude of Thule, we have three statements that in summer there are no nights there, and in winter no days.

Pliny, *Natural History*, lib. iv. cap. xvi.—Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur Thule; in qua solsticio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancer signum Sole transiente, nullosque contra Brumam dies. Hæc quidem senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur.

Dionysius Periegetes, Alex^a. (A.D. 200), l. 584.—Multam autem ulterius ubi secueris viam oceani, in insulam Thulen bene ædificata nave trajicies; ubi quidem sole progresso ad polum ursarum [septentrionum] interdiu simul ac noctu semper conspicuum effunditur lumen. Obliquiore nanque tunc versatur conversione, radiis directam ad inclinationem venientibus.

C. Julius Solinus (A.D. 238), *Polyhistor.*, cap. xxv.—Multa et alia circum Britanniam insulæ, e quibus Thule ultima: in qua æstivo solstitio, sole de Cancri sydere faciente transitum, nox pene nulla: brumali solstitio perinde nullas dies ut ortus junctus sit occasu.

Here is a modern description of Iceland:—

Chambers's Encyclopædia, 1877.—In the southern parts of Iceland the longest day lasts 20 hours; the shortest 4 hours. In the northern districts the sun never sets for a whole week in midsummer, and in midwinter never rises above the horizon during an equally long period of time.

Next we have two statements by ancient writers that the nights are very short in summer. These may refer to the south of the island. The difference in latitude between the north and the south of the island accounts for the difference in the descriptions.

Pomponius Mela (A.D. 50), *de situ orbis*, lib. iii. cap. vi.—Thule Belgarum littori opposita est, Graiis et nostris celebrata carminibus. In ea quod sol longe occasurus exurgit, brevis utique noctes sunt, sed per hyemem sicut alibi obscuræ, æstate lucidæ, quod per id tempus jam se altius evehens, quamquam ipse non cernatur, vicino tamen splendore proxima illustrat; per solstitium vero nullæ quod tum jam manifestior non fulgorem modo sed sui quoque maximam ostendit.

Geminus (A.D. 100), *Elem. Astron.*, v. 22 [rough translation].

—About the ocean, the barbarians showed where the sun goes to bed. In these places the nights are short, only two or three hours.

Cosmos Indicopleustes (A.D. 600) [rough translation].—Pytheas of Marseilles, writing about things around the ocean, says that in the places furthest north the barbarians showed him the bed of the sun, where the night begins with them.

The following statement, ascribed to Pytheas, that the day is a month long, cannot be taken to mean that the sun does not set for a month. That would make Thule too far north. The meaning must be that it is so bright at midnight that there is practically no night for a month.

Cleomedes (A.D. 186), *Cycl. Theor.*, lib. i. cap. vii. [rough translation].—About Thule, Pytheas the Philosopher of Marseilles writes . . . when the sun is in Cancer the day is a month long.

There are statements by various writers as to the position of Thule with regard to Britain.

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. iv. par. 2.—. . . Thule, which Pytheas says is six days' sail north from Britain, and near the frozen sea.

Pliny, *Natural History*, lib. iv. cap. xvi. (after giving a list of the islands near Britain).—Sunt qui et alias prodant, Scandium, Dumnam, Bergos; maximamque omnium Nerigon, ex qua in Thulen navigetur.

Paulus Orosius (A.D. 400), *Hispani adversus paganos libri septem*, lib. i. cap. ii.—Deinde insula Thule, quæ per infinitum a ceteris separata, circium versus medio sita oceani vix paucis nota habetur.

Orosius, *Anglo Saxone Version*, by King Alfred, book i. chap. i. par. 28 (A.D. 901).—Then on the north-west of

Ireland is that utmost land called Thule; and it is known to few because of its great distance.

There is a passage in Solinus which at first sight appears to be nonsense, but of which the following may be the meaning. Those who start from the Caledonian promontory for Thule reach the Hebrides in two days. From there to the Orcades is seven days, and from there to Thule five days. To make sense of these distances the Orcades must be the Faroe Islands. Two other passages in Solinus make Thule agree with Iceland.

Solinus, *Polyhistor.*, cap. xxv.—A Calydoniæ promontorio Thulen petentibus, bidui navigatio est. Inde excipiunt Hæbudes insulæ, quinque numero: . . . Secundum a continenti stationem Orcades præbent, quæ ab Hæbudibus porro sunt septem dierum totidemque noctium cursu, numero tres. Vacant homine. . . . Orcadibus Thulen usque quinque dierum et noctium navigatio est.

One statement by Pytheas, through Strabo, that Thule is near the frozen sea, has already been given. There are several other passages to the same effect.

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. iv. par. 1.—Pytheas. It is likewise he who describes Thule and other neighbouring places, where, according to him, neither earth, water, nor air exist separately, but a sort of concretion of all these, resembling marine sponge, in which the earth, the sea, and all things were suspended, thus forming, as it were, a link to unite the whole together. As for the substance, he affirms that he has beheld it with his own eyes; the rest he reports on the authority of others.

Pliny, *Natural History*, lib. iv. cap. vii.—A Thule unius

diei navigatione Mare concretum, a nonnullis Chronium dictum.

Solinus, *Polyhistor.*, caput xxv.—Ultra Thulen accepimus pigrum esse et concretum mare.

There is another passage in Strabo which is important for two reasons. It is the only one in which he says a good word for Pytheas, and it gives us the information that Pytheas reasoned correctly as far as astronomy and mathematics are concerned. It also gives some description of the agriculture in the country.

Strabo, *Geography*, book iv. chap. ii. par. 5.—The account of Thule is still more uncertain, on account of its secluded situation; for they consider it to be the northernmost of all lands of which the names are known. The falsity of what Pytheas has related concerning this and the neighbouring places is proved by what he has asserted of well-known countries. For if, as we have shown, his description of these is in the main incorrect, what he says of far distant countries is more likely to be false. Nevertheless, as far as astronomy and mathematics are concerned, he appears to have reasoned correctly, that people bordering on the frozen zone would be destitute of cultivated fruits, and almost deprived of domestic animals; that their food would consist of millet, herbs, fruits, and roots, and that where there was corn and honey they would make drink of these. That, having no bright sun, they would thresh their corn and store it in granaries, threshing-floors being useless on account of rain and want of sun.

The word "millet" appears to be a mistake, as this only grows in warm countries. It may have

been some other kind of corn, which Pytheas, coming from a warm country, did not know.

Against all these statements which make Thule agree with Iceland, I can only find one by a writer before the time of Claudius, who places it further south, and he places it too far south. Eratosthenes says that it is in the same latitude as the Dneiper, by which is meant the mouth of that river. This is in the same latitude as the middle of the Bay of Biscay. Eratosthenes himself, in another passage already quoted, places Thule in the latitude of Iceland.

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. iv. par. 3.—We will let pass the rest of his [Eratosthenes'] distances, since they are something near,—but that the Dneiper is under the same parallel as Thule, what man in his senses could agree to this? Pytheas, who has given us the history of Thule, is known to be a man upon whom no reliance can be placed, and others who have seen Britain and Ierne, although they tell us of many small islands round Britain, make no mention of Thule.

All the writers quoted appear to have obtained their information either directly or indirectly from Pytheas, except Orosius and King Alfred. Orosius uses the expression “vix paucis nota habetur,” which appears to show that he knew that someone had been there besides Pytheas. King Alfred, while partly following the words of Orosius, uses quite a fresh expression, “on the north-west of

Ireland," as if he knew of someone having sailed from Ireland to Thule. This is not improbable, as the following quotation shows:—

Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands: Edinburgh Cabinet Series, 1840, p. 93.—When the Norwegian colonists, however, some time afterwards [that is, after A.D. 864], settled in the country, they found in many places signs of former visitors, consisting of fragments of books in the Irish language (backor Irskar), of bells, crosiers, and various other articles. From these relics it has been supposed that the adventurers must have been Christians, either from the Western Isles of Scotland or from Ireland; but as they left no remains of houses or churches, they were probably merely temporary residents.

The earliest author, whose writings are now in existence, who mentions Thule is Virgil.

Virgil (B.C. 19), *Georgics*, lib. i. v. 30.—Tibi serviat ultima Thule.

The passage is not important, but it is peculiar how the "ultima" has stuck to the "Thule," and seems a necessary part of it.

We now come to the nearer Thule, which is not mentioned until after the invasion of Britain by Agricola in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 43. A fleet sailed round the north of Scotland. The furthest land that the fleet reached was afterwards called Thule. The earliest mention of this place is by Silius Italicus (A.D. 68) in the shape of a prophecy after the event.

Silius Italicus, *Bel. Punic.*, lib. iii. v. 596.—

Bellatrix gens baccifero nutrita Sabino.

Hinc pater ignotam donabit vincere Thulen,

Inque Caledoneos primus trahet agmina lucros.

Lib. xvii. v. 414.—

Fervidus ingenii Massinissa, et fervidus ævi,

In primas Macetum turmas immania membra.

Infert et jaculo circumvolat alite campum.

Cærulus haud aliter, quum dimicat, incola Thules

Agmina facifero circumvenit arta covino.

Ptolemy (A.D. 160) makes the place of the nearer Thule quite clear, if we trouble to make a map from the latitude and longitude that he has given us. A map of Great Britain made from these figures is very peculiar in shape. England is not far out in general shape or in latitude and longitude, but Scotland starts from the north of England and stretches out to the east instead of to the north, and the islands are twisted round with it, the Orkneys being on the east and the Hebrides on the north. The explanation is that Ptolemy had a map of England and a map of Scotland before him, and fitted them together wrong. This discovery was made by General Roy, who originated the first geometrical survey of Great Britain, and died in 1790. Ptolemy makes Thyle an island near Scotland, corresponding in position with Lewis, the most northerly of the Hebrides.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, lib. ii. cap. iii. — Et supra ipsas Thyle est, cujus insulæ pars, quæ maxime ad occasum tendit gradus habet 29 63

Quæ maxime ad ortum	31.40	63
„ „ arctos	30.20	63.15
„ „ austrum	30.20	62.40
Medium insulæ	30.20	63

I am inclined to think that Pytheas reached Thule before the summer solstice, and remained till after the winter solstice. His statement that the summer tropic becomes one with the arctic circle shows that he was there at midsummer. We cannot suppose that there were any local astronomers to give him this information. He describes the nights and days both in summer and winter, and also describes thrashing the corn. He was able to understand the natives when they showed him the bed of the sun, so that he must have been there long enough to learn something of their language.

The Gulf Stream running in a north-easterly direction washes the south and east shores of Iceland and warms them. On the other side the cold current from the pole runs to the south-west between Greenland and Iceland, bringing down large quantities of ice. The climate of the coast of Greenland nearest to Iceland has entirely changed within historical times. From a fertile land it has become a frozen desert. I am not

aware of so great a change having taken place elsewhere. It may be due to some change in the polar current, which has caused more ice to come down.

Edinburgh Gazetteer, 1822. — Greenland was first discovered by the Europeans in the eighth or ninth century. At that time a company of Icelanders, headed by one Eiricke Rande, were by accident driven on the coast. On his return he represented the country in such a favourable light that some families again followed him thither, where they soon became a thriving colony, and bestowed on their new habitation the name of Graenland or Greenland, on account of its verdant appearance. This colony was converted to Christianity by a missionary from Norway, sent thither by the celebrated Olaf, the first Norwegian monarch who embraced the true religion. The Greenland settlement continued to increase and thrive under his protection, and in a little time the country contained 12 parishes, 190 villages, 1 bishop's see, and 2 convents, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Drontheim. A colony had also been settled in West Greenland, which maintained a constant intercourse with Europe, and increased to 4 parishes, containing 100 villages. . . . A considerable commerce was long carried on between Greenland and Norway, and a regular intercourse maintained between the two countries till the year 1408. At this period the seventeenth bishop was sent to take possession of his see, when the coast of East Greenland was found to be surrounded by vast quantities of ice, so as to be wholly inaccessible from the sea. From this period all communication has been cut off with those unfortunate colonies. Numerous attempts have been since made to reopen the communication, but without success, the ice by which the coast was surrounded, to the distance of about 50 miles, opposing an insuperable obstacle to all intercourse with the shore.

There is no record of so great a change in the climate of Iceland, but it is evident that the same cause which affected Greenland to such a degree must also have affected Iceland. We learn from several sources that Iceland was formerly warmer than it is now, and there is no improbability that corn and other things could be grown there in the time of Pytheas, as he relates. The passage just quoted shows that in the eighth or ninth century the frozen sea must have been more than one day's sail from Iceland in summer. In the time of Pytheas it would be further still, supposing the same changes to have been going on. Therefore Pytheas must have been talking about the distance in winter.

A. Keith Johnston, *Gazetteer*, 1867.—Iceland. Forests formerly abounded, but the island is now destitute of trees except a few stunted birches. . . . No grain of any kind can be raised, but cabbages and potatoes are cultivated.

Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands: Edinburgh Cabinet Series, 1840, p. 65. —The trees were indeed so small, that it is noticed as something extraordinary, that two of the settlers were able to form ships of the native wood, so large that they could sail in them to Norway. . . . That those of the settlers who had come from agricultural districts attempted to raise corn, is only natural, and there is proof that it sometimes succeeded. But this success was only partial, and in good years and warm situations, and there is reason to believe that with equal care and industry the same might still be accomplished, as it was in the South in the time of Angrim Jonas [1600].

P. 96.—When, therefore, the decisive battle of Hafurs Fiord had destroyed all hopes of liberty at home, the chiefs who escaped that bloody day heard with joy that their bold countrymen had settled in a land whose waters swarmed with fish, whose mountains were clothed with wood, and whose men had nothing to fear from the oppression of kings or tyrants.

No remains have been found of any people in Iceland as far back as Pytheas, but this does not prove that there were none.

In comparing the claims of Iceland and Norway to the name of Thule, temperature is the most important point to be considered. According to Pytheas, part of Thule was within the arctic circle, and was one day's sail from the frozen sea. On the other hand, the coast of Norway is the warmest place in the world for its latitude, in consequence of the Gulf Stream. One day's sail, say 120 miles, north of the arctic circle on this coast, are the most southerly of the Lofoden Islands, of which the following is a description :—

A. Keith Johnston, *Gazetteer*, 1867.—Lofoden or Loffoden Islands, an archipelago of Norway, within the arctic circle, North Sea, between lat. $67^{\circ} 30'$ and $69^{\circ} 30'$ N., long. 12° and 17° E. . . . Permanent population 4000; but in the cod-fishing season (January, February, and March) they are occupied by a dense population, who come thither with their boats and fishing tackle from all the coasts of Nordland, Finmark, even from Nord Cape, with provisions for two months. Average number of boats employed 4000, with 20,000 men.

Norway. Scandinavia, from its vicinity to the sea, has a

remarkably mild climate, considering its northern position. The snow line is much higher than in corresponding latitudes in other countries: in lat. 61° it is 5300 ft.; in lat. 70° , 3400 ft. above the sea. . . . The mean annual temperature at the level of the sea is at North Cape 32° , Trondhyem (lat. $63^{\circ} 5'$) 40° ; Ullensvang in Hardanger-Fiord (lat. 60°) 45° ; Christiania (lat. $59^{\circ} 44'$) 41° Fahr. The sea never freezes, even at North Cape.

The Rev. Thomas Milner, in his *Atlas of Physical Geography*, 1850, gives a map containing isotherms and other information. The isotherm of 40° , that is of the mean annual temperature of 40° , runs from the south-east corner of Newfoundland to the south-west corner of Iceland, then in a north-easterly direction across Iceland and further till near the coast of Norway, when it turns by degrees to south-east, striking the coast at about 60° lat. The isotherm of 30° runs nearly parallel to this, starting a little to the north of Newfoundland, and cutting through Iceland near the north-west corner, then running further north-east to lat. 74° , and turning south to North Cape in Norway. The line of ice in winter runs from the southern point of Greenland nearly parallel to the isotherm of 30° , touching the north-west corner of Iceland, after passing the meridian of Greenwich, turning north to a point a little to the west of the south end of Spitzbergen. Directly north of where the arctic circle cuts the coast of

Norway it is 650 miles to the line of ice in winter. The lines must not be considered exact. The book is old, and the temperature and ice vary from year to year. The Gulf Stream runs up the coast of Norway, so there is no chance of the ice drifting down. It is impossible that there can have been frozen sea within one day's sail of the arctic circle on this coast, as Pytheas relates of Thule. Therefore Norway has no claim to be considered to be Thule.

The earlier Thule was certainly Iceland, and the later Thule was one of the islands near Scotland. Ptolemy made it Lewis, but many other writers only used the word vaguely to denote the furthest known island.

CHAPTER IV

BEFORE CÆSAR

IT has been shown in the chapter on the Cassiterides that there is no reason to suppose that the Phœnicians ever came to Britain. The earliest mention of Britain is by Hecataeus, in a passage quoted by Diodorus Siculus. Hecataeus lived B.C. 500, that is, at the time of the battle of Marathon, and just after the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. He refers to things that took place long before his time, before any authentic history of Greece or Rome. There can be no doubt that the island of the Hyperboreans described by him in the ocean over against Gaul, as big as Sicily, under the arctic pole, is Great Britain. The name Hyperboreans appears to have been used rather vaguely by ancient writers for any people far to the north. The description shows that the inhabitants understood agriculture, and that pretty thoroughly, as they raised two crops in the year. Apollo, or the sun, was worshipped. A little

imagination will transform the round temple into Stonehenge and the harpers into Druids. The description of the intercourse between the Hyperboreans and the Greeks, stretching back to times long before the battle of Marathon, is very interesting. We are not told whether the journey was made by land or sea.

Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chap. iii. p. 138.—Now since we have thus far spoken of the northern parts of Asia, it is convenient to observe something relating to the antiquity of the Hyperboreans.

Amongst them that have written old stories much like fables, Hecateus and some others say that there is an island in the ocean over against Gaul (as big as Sicily), under the arctic pole, where the Hyperboreans inhabit, so called because they lie beyond the breezes of the north wind. That the soil there is very rich and very fruitful; and the climate temperate, insomuch as there are two crops in the year. They say that Latona was born there, and therefore that they worship Apollo above all other gods; and because they are daily singing songs in praise of this god, and ascribing to him the highest honours, they say that these inhabitants demean themselves as if they were Apollo's priests, who has there a stately grove and a renowned temple, of a round form, beautified with many rich gifts. That there is a city likewise consecrated to this god, whose citizens are most of them harpers, who, playing on the harp, chant sacred hymns to Apollo in the temple, setting forth his glorious acts. The Hyperboreans use their own natural language, but of long and antient time have had a special kindness for the Grecians, and more especially for the Athenians and them of Delos. And that some of the Grecians passed over to the Hyperboreans, and left behind them divers presents, inscribed with Greek characters, and that Abaris formerly travelled thence

into Greece, and renewed the antient league of friendship with the Delians. They say, moreover, that the moon in this island seems as if it were near to the earth, and represents in the face of it excrescences like spots in the earth. And that Apollo once in nineteen years comes into the island; in which space of time the stars perform their courses, and return to the same point; and therefore the Greeks call the revolution of nineteen years the Great Year. At this time of his appearance (they say) that he plays upon harps, and sings and dances all the night, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, solacing himself with the praises of his own successful adventures. The sovereignty of this city and the care of the temple (they say) belongs to the Boreades, the posterity of Boreas, who hold the principality by descent in a direct line from that ancestor.

Next in order of date comes Aristotle. He is the first who mentions our islands by name. The name Albion hardly occurs again in ancient writings. Pliny gives it in his *Historia Mundi*, lib. 4, cap. 10, and Agathamereus, A.D. 250, in his *Geography*, book iv. chap. iv. Trapabane, Ceylon, is rather smaller than Ireland. Phebol is not known.

Aristotle (B.C. 322).—Quo ipso in mari insulæ duæ sitæ sunt quam maxime, quas Britannicas appellant, Albion et Ierna; iis etiam majores, quas commemoravimus supra Celtas jacentes. Queis tamen ipsis magnitudine nec Trapabane cedit, nec ea cui Phebol nomen est, illa super Indos posita, situ ad terrarum orbem inflexa: hæc ad Arabicum sinum. Sunt etiam non paucae, sed exiguae circa Britannicas et Iberiam, quæ quasi corona cingunt hunc orbem, hominum domicilium, quem superius insulam esse dissernimus.

We now come to information received from that extraordinary man Pytheas of Marseilles. His writings have been lost, and we have only quotations from them in later writings. The time when he lived is not certain, but it is supposed to have been about B.C. 300—that is, in the time of Alexander the Great, and rather before the first Punic war. Very little is known of him, and it is not known what was the object of his voyages. Polybius says that he was a private individual in narrow circumstances. He went to Iceland, travelled all over Britain on foot, and traversed the whole coast of Europe from Cadiz to the Don. Quotations from him relating to Thule have already been given, and now follow those relating to Britain, and a few with information about himself. These form the whole that is known of his writings except a few passages, which will be found later on, which are not stated to be from his writings, but which from internal evidence appear to be taken from them. It is not necessary to copy all the passages in which Strabo says that Pytheas gave false information. Strabo and other ancient writers had a very low opinion of him. He knew too much for them. As far as we can check his statements, they appear to be fairly accurate, except his distances, and there is no reason to suppose that he ever intentionally made

a misstatement. The best book that I have found about Pytheas is *Die Nordlandfahrt von Pytheas*, von Gustav Hergt, Halle a. S., 1893. It is strange nothing has been written in English about his whole voyage.

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. iv. par. 3.—But Pytheas tells us that the island (of Britain) is more than 20,000 stadia in length, and that Kent is some days' sail from France. With regard to the locality of the Ostimii and the countries beyond the Rhine, as far as Scythia, he is altogether mistaken. The veracity of a writer who has been thus false in describing countries with which we are well acquainted, should not be too much trusted in regard to unknown places.

Book i. chap. iv. par. 5.—To these he [Eratosthenes] says should be added the curvature of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules, fronting the Iberians, and inclining west, not less than 3000 stadia, and the headlands including that of the Ostimii named Cabæum [Cape St Mahé] and the adjoining islands, the last of which, named Uxisama [Ushant] is distant, according to Pytheas, a three days' sail. But he added nothing to its length by enumerating these last, viz. the headlands, including that of the Ostimii, the island of Uxisama, and the rest; they are not situated so as to affect the length of the earth, for they all lie to the north, and belong to Keltica, not to Iberia; indeed it seems but an invention of Pytheas.

Book ii. chap. iv. par. 1.—Polybius, in his *Chorography of Europe*, tells us that it is not his intention to examine the writings of the ancient geographers, but the statements of those who have criticised them, such as Dicæarchus, Eratosthenes (who was the last [in his time] had laboured in geography) and Pytheas by whom many have been deceived. It is this last writer who states that he travelled

all over Britain on foot, and that the island is over 40,000 stadia in circumference. [Here follows something about Thule, already quoted.] So much for the statements of Pytheas, who tells us besides, that after he had returned thence, he traversed the whole of Europe from Gades to the Don.

Book ii. chap. iv. par. 2.—Polybius asks, “How is it possible that a private individual, and one too in narrow circumstances, could ever have performed such vast expeditions by sea and land?”

C. Plinii secundi, *Historia Mundi*, lib. iv. cap. xvi.—Britannia. . . . Circuitu vero patere tricies octies centena vigintiquinque M. Pyteas et Isodorus tradunt.

Lib. ii. cap. lxxv.—Solstitii diebus occidente Sole proprius verticem mundi, angusto lucis ambitu, subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto. Quod fieri in insula Thule Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in Septentrionem a Britannia distante: quidam vero et in Mona, quæ distat a Camaleduno Britanniae oppido circiter ducentis millibus affirmant.

Lib. ii. cap. xcvi.—Octogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere æstus Pytheas Massiliensis author est.

The statement that Pytheas travelled all over Britain on foot shows that the country was in a peaceful state and fairly civilised. Britain is stated to be over 20,000 stadia in length and over 40,000 stadia in circumference, and in another place 3825 miles in circumference. This agrees with a passage in Diodorus Siculus, to be quoted next, which is not ascribed to Pytheas, that Britain is triangular in form like Sicily, and that the length of the sides is 7500, 15,000, and 20,000 furlongs, together

42,500. Furlongs appear to be the same as stadia. It is not certain what was the length of stadia used by Pytheas. The generally accepted length is 600 Greek or 625 Roman feet, 8 stadia to the mile, making 5000 Roman feet, or 1000 paces of two steps, each $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. If 42,000 stadia are equal to 3825 miles of 5000 feet, each stadium would be 450 feet. I think that the following passage may be considered to be from Pytheas. The only way to account for these very great distances is to suppose that he included the windings of the coast.

Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. ii.—Britain. In form it is triangular like Sicily, but the sides are unequal. It lies in an oblique line, over against the continent of Europe, so that the promontory called Cantium, next to the continent (they say), is about 100 furlongs from the land; here the sea ebbs and flows: but the other point, called Balerium, is four days' sail from the continent. The last, called Horcas or Orcades, runs out far into the sea. The least of the sides facing the whole continent is 7500 furlongs in length; the second stretching out itself all along from the sea to the highest point, is 15,000 furlongs; and the last is 20,000; so that the whole compass of the island is 42,500 furlongs.

Pliny quotes from Timæus (B.C. 256) that the island Mictis, where the tin is found, is six days' voyage from Britain, and that the Britons go there in wicker boats covered with hides. He may have meant that Mictis was six days' sail from Kent. These boats would be too small to cross the open

sea. The following passages have been quoted before :—

C. Plinii secundi, *Historia Mundi*, lib. iv. cap. xvi.—Timæus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat. Ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare.

Strabo, *Geography*, book iii. chap. ii. par. 9.—Posidonius— . . . Tin . . . and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to Marseilles.

Polybii, *Historiarum Reliquiæ*, lib. iii. cap. lvii. 2 and 3.—Quærunt etiam nonnulli . . . de Britannicis insulis, et stanni confectione, de auri argentique metallis in Hispania.

Strabo, *Geography*, book i. chap. iv. par. 4.—Further, Hipparchus and many others are of opinion that the parallel of latitude of the Dnieper does not differ from that of Britain, since that of Bysantium and Marseilles are the same.

The passages from Diodorus Siculus already quoted in this chapter are taken from older writers. In the following passage he gives no name; but as it follows a passage which I ascribe to Pytheas, part or the whole of this may be from that writer. Diodorus mentions expedition in the singular, as if writing before the second invasion. He says that he will write more about this when he comes to Cæsar's expedition. Unfortunately, this part of his book has been lost. There are several statements in the following extract which look very like Cæsar's fifth book, chapters 12 to 14. They may have taken their information about Britain from the same source.

Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. ii.—The inhabitants are the original people thereof, and live to this time after their own ancient manner and custom, for in fights they use chariots, as it is said the old Grecian heroes did in the Trojan war. They dwell in mean cottages, covered for the most part with reeds or sticks. In reaping of their corn, they cut off the ears from the stalk, and so house them up in repositories underground; thence they take and pluck out the grains of as many of the oldest of them as may serve them for a day, and, after they have bruised the corn, make it into bread. They are of much sincerity and integrity, far from the craft and knavery of men among us; contented with plane and homely fare, strangers to the excess and luxury of rich men. The island is very populous, but of a cold climate, subject to frosts, being under the arctic pole. They are governed by several kings and princes, who, for the most part, are at peace and amity one with another. But of their laws, and other things peculiar to this island, we shall treat more particularly when we come to Cæsar's expedition into Britain.

Now we shall speak something of the tin that is dug and gotten there. They that inhabit the British promontory Balerium, by reason of their converse with merchants, are more civilised and courteous to strangers than the rest are. These are the people that make the tin, which with a great deal of care and labour they dig out of the ground; and that being rocky, the metal is mixed with some veins of earth, out of which they melt the metal, and then refine it; then they beat it into four-square pieces, like a dye, and carry it to a British isle near at hand called Ictis. For at low tide, all being dry between them and the island, they convey over in carts abundance of tin in the meantime. But there is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe; for at full sea, they appear to be islands, but at low water for a long way, they look like so many peninsulas. Hence the merchants transport the tin they

buy of the inhabitants to France, and for thirty days' journey they carry it in packs upon horses' backs through France to the mouth of the river Rhone. . . . In their journeys and fights they use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry a charioteer and a soldier, and when they meet horsemen in the battle, they fall upon their enemies with their saurians [a kind of dart]: then quitting their chariots, they to it with their swords. There are some of them so despite death, that they will fight naked, with something only about their loins.

The general impression left by these extracts is that Britain was a peaceable country. It cannot have been divided up among tribes always at war with one another. Pytheas could not have walked round the island if wars had been going on. His was certainly a peaceable journey, though it is not known whether the object was trade or geographical discovery. Tin-mining is a peaceful occupation, and could not be carried on if there were frequent wars. The ancient Britons could fight if necessary, as the modern ones can.

At Stonehenge there is an upright stone with a hole in it, and looking through this hole there is seen another stone in the distance, nearly in the direction of the rising sun on the longest day. It is known that the place of rising of the sun is constantly changing a little. It has been supposed by some people that the further stone is in the direction of the rising of the sun on the longest day at the date of the building of Stonehenge. A few years ago

Sir Norman Lockyer and Mr Penrose measured the angle between the further stone and the rising of the sun on the longest day, and calculated the date of the building of Stonehenge to be 1680 B.C., with a possible error of 200 years either way. We may trust the calculation to be correct. Consequently, if the idea upon which the calculation is founded is correct, we know that in 1680 B.C. Britain was sufficiently civilised and peaceable for Stonehenge to be built. Avebury must be much older.

CHAPTER V

DRUIDS

IN Chapter IV. a quotation was given from Hecataeus which may refer to Druids, but it is of no importance. Cæsar does not mention them in his description of Britain, but in his sixth book he gives a long description of them in Gaul, and he says that their religion (*disciplina*) was brought from Britain, and that young men from Gaul go there to be instructed in it. We may safely conclude that the Druids in Britain were much the same as those in Gaul. As no other writer before the invasion of Claudius, one hundred years later, describes them in either country, this is the only passage giving information about them at the time we are considering, except the one by Hecataeus.

Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xiii.—In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes pœne servorum habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet, et nulli adhibetur consilio. Plerique, quum aut ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant

nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum Equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ causa concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt; et, si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hereditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt; præmia pœnasque constituunt: si qui, aut privatus, aut publicus, eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum et sceleratorum habentur; iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit; at si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum deligitur, nonnunquam etiam de principatu armis contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt, eorumque judiciis decretisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse, existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa, proficiscuntur.

Cap. xiv. — Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli vicanos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant, ea literis mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis utantur literis. Id mihi duabus de causis

instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint, neque eas, qui discant, literis confisos, minus memoriæ studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut, præsidio literarum, diligentiam in perdiscendo, ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios; atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt.

Cap. xv.—Alterum genus est Equitum. Hi quum est usus, atque aliquod bellum incidit, (quod ante Cæsaris adventum fere quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi injurias inferrent, aut illatas propulsarent,) omnes in bello versantur; atque, eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habent. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

Cap. xvi.—Natio est omnium Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus; atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolatures vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur: quod, pro vita hominis, nisi hominis vita reddatur, non passe aliter deorum immortalium numen placari, arbitrantur: publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum, qui in furto, aut in latrocinio, aut aliqua noxa, sint comprehensi, gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, quum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

Cap. xvii.—Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; hujus sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ

mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem, et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem; Apollinem morbos depellere; Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere; Jovem imperium cælesteum tenere; Martem bella regere. Huic, quum prælio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quæ bello ceperint, plerumque devovent. Quæ superaverint, animalia capta immolant; reliquias res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspiciari licet. Neque sæpe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione, aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere, auderet; gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

Cap. xviii. — Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis, non numero dierum, sed noctium, finiunt; dies natales, et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitæ institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suo liberos, nisi quum adoleverint, ut munus militiæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili ætate, in publico, in conspectu patrio adsistere, turpe ducunt.

CHAPTER VI

THE COAST OF KENT AND EAST SUSSEX

THE changes in the coast of Kent and Sussex since the time of Cæsar have been so great that it is impossible to discuss his landings and subsequent movements properly without first ascertaining what these changes have been, and, as far as possible, what was the line of coast in his time. Fortunately we know more about this part than any other part of the coast of England. The Cinque Ports have played a very important part in the history of England, and the information that we have about them in the time of their prosperity and decay gives us the date of many changes. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* often mentions places, now inland, where fleets assembled, and enables us to form some idea of the size of the harbours. Of modern books, *The History of Kent*, by Edward Hasted, 1778–99, is very useful for a general view of the question in Kent, and gives a great number of references. *Cinque Ports*, by Montagu Burrows, Captain R.N., Chichele Pro-

fessor of Modern History in the University of Oxford (being one of the series "Historic Towns"), 1888, gives the story of those ports, the information being taken from local sources as well as books. The information given by classical writers is very little; but, working back from modern times, through Anglo-Saxon times, we are able to form a fairly good idea of what the coast line was in ancient times, where the sea has receded. Except in a very few places, I have not been able to find out what land has been washed away by the sea, but this is not so important, because on much the greater part of this coast the land has been gaining.

In the one-inch Ordnance maps of the first edition, about 1820, marsh formed by the deposit of mud and shingle or sand banks are marked in a different way from solid ground. This shows the parts which are now land and were formerly under water. It does not tell us when the change took place, but in a great many places we shall be able to find out from other sources.

The drift of the shingle in the English Channel is from west to east. There are exceptions to this general rule where a headland projects, as at Portland. Where this shingle finds a convenient resting-place enormous quantities are deposited. The result of this eastward drift is that the

mouths of rivers are driven more and more to the east, a narrow shingle bank lying between the river and the sea. Occasionally a storm breaks through this shingle bank, making a new mouth near the original one. Another cause of change is that water, whether river or sea, which has been in motion, when brought to a standstill, deposits solid matter which it has held in suspension. The result is that all harbours and estuaries at the mouths of rivers have a tendency to get silted up.

Cinque Ports.

Hastings.		Sandwich.		Dover.		Romney.		Hythe.
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Corporate Members.

Seaford.		Fordwich.		Folkestone.		Lydd.		...
Pevensay.		Deal.		Faversham.	

Non-Corporate Members.

Bulvarhythe.	|	Reculver.	|	Margate.	|	Old Romney.	|	West Hythe.
Hydney.	|	Sarre.	|	St John's.	|	Bromehill.	|	...
Petit Iham.	|	Stonar.	|	Goresand.	|	Dengemarsh.	|	...
Bekesbourn.	|	Ramsgate.	|	Birchington	|	Orwaldstone.	|	...
Grench.	|	Walmer.	|	Wood or	|		|	
Northeye.		Brightlingsca.		Woodchurch.				
				St Peter's.	
				Kingsdown.	
				Ring Wold.				

Ancient Towns.

Ryc.		Winchelsea.	
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Corporate Member.

Tenterden.	
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The Cinque Ports are supposed to have received their first charter from Edward the Confessor. They are first mentioned in the following order: Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Hythe. Winchelsea and Rye, called the Ancient Towns, were added soon after the Conquest. These seven were called the head ports. Later on, smaller ports were added from time to time as members or limbs of the head ports. The complete list is as above, but probably they were not all in existence at any one time. The corporate members had mayors and corporations, the non-corporate members had not.

These towns, which are spoken of all together as the Cinque Ports, furnished the king with a certain number of ships and men for fighting purposes for a short time every year, and, on the other hand, had certain immunities. The ships appear to have been the same that were used for fishing and trading. Those which were supplied to resist the Spanish Armada were of from 12 to 42 tons each, the average number of men in a ship being 18 (*Cinque Ports*, p. 195).

The ports in Kent used by the Romans were Rutupiæ or Portus Rutupinus, Dubris, and Portus Lemanis. The first was the usual place of landing from the continent, and the best harbour. The positions of the three are shown roughly by the

three roads running from Canterbury to the coast. One runs east to Sandwich. The next runs south-east to Dover. The third runs rather to the west of south, to a point between Lympne and West Hythe. This last road is not now used at the shore end. Rutupiæ will be discussed in a separate chapter later on.

The Isle of Thanet was formerly separated from Kent by a narrow strait which was silted up by degrees. The first mention of this is the following :

Solinus (A.D. 238), *Polyhistor.*, cap. xxv.—Thanatos insula alluitur freto Gallico : a Britanniae continente æstuario tenui separata.

The first time that we hear of any known port after the time of the Romans is in the following passage. The event recorded took place in the year 666.

Vita Wilfridi Episcopi, auctore Eddio Stephano, chap. xiii. (A.D. 711), known as *Eddi's Life of St Wilfrid*.—Gloriose autem a Deo honorifici, gratias Ei agentes, vento flante ab Africo, prospere in portum Sandwicæ salutis pervenerunt.

Rutupiæ is not mentioned after the time of the Romans except by Bede. Sandwich takes its place as the usual port of arrival from the continent and the largest harbour in these parts. Gocelinus, writing in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, says that Saint Augustine landed at Richboro. The earlier histories of Saint Augustine, who came

here in 597, do not mention the port, so that no reliance can be placed on this statement.

Venerabilis Bedæ, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (A.D. 736), lib. i. cap. i. sec. 4.—Habet a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cujus proximum litus transmeantibus aperit civitas quæ dicitur Rutupi Portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacaestir vocata, interposito mari a Gessoriaco Morinorum gentis litore proximo trajectu millium quinquaginta, sive, ut quidam scripsere, stadiorum quadringentorum quinquaginta.

The words “a Gessoriaco Morinorum gentis litore proximo trajectu millium quinquaginta” are in Pliny’s *Historia Mundi*, lib. iv. cap. xvi., but Bede does not copy from Pliny. Bede give the distance 50 m.p. from Rutupi Portus to Gessoriacum, which is right. Pliny says that it is 50 m.p. from Britain to Gessoriacum.

Orosius has one part of the sentence in nearly the same words as Bede, but he says nothing about the distance.

Pauli Orosii Presbyteri, *Hispani adversus Paganos Historiarum libri septem* (A.D. 417), lib. i. cap. ii. p. 17.—A meridie Gallias habet, cujus proximum litus transmeantibus civitas aperit, quæ dicitur Rhutupi portus.

Bede also mentions the estuary between the Isle of Thanet and Kent, and fortunately gives the width.

Bede, lib. i. cap. xxiv.—Est autem ad orientalem Cantiaë plagam, Tanatos insula non modica, id est, magnitudinis, juxta consuetudinem æstimationis Anglorum familiarum sexcentarum, quam a continente terra secernit fluvius

Vantsumu, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum e duobos tantum in locis est transmeabilis, utrumque enim caput protendit in mare.

Asser's *Annals of the Reign of Alfred*, p. 45, A.D. 851.—In the same year Athelstan, son of King Ethelwulf, and Earl Ealhere slew a large army of pagans in Kent, at a place called Sandwich, and took nine ships of their fleet; the others escaped by flight.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is the work of several writers at different times, gives a great deal of information about the Cinque Ports. I copy from the translation by Benjamin Thorpe, 1861, in the Rolls series. The first quotation relates to an earlier date than the one just quoted from Asser. The dates seem a little vague.

An. 449 (448).—In this year Martian and Valentinian succeeded to the empire and reigned seven years. In their time Hengist and Horsa, invited by Wyrtegeorn (Vortigern), king of the Britons, sought Britain on the shore which is named Ypwines fleet.

Another version gives the name of the port Heopwines fleet. It is supposed to be Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, between Ramsgate and Minster.

The next entry is nearly in the same words as Asser.

An. 851.—The same year king Athelstan and alderman Elchere fought in their ships, and slew a large army at Sandwich in Kent, taking nine ships and dispersing the rest.

An. 893.—In this year the great army about which we

formerly spoke, came again from the eastern kingdom westward to Boulogne [A. S. Bunnan], and there was shipped, so that they came over in one passage, horses and all; and they came to land at Limene-mouth with two hundred and fifty ships. This port is in the eastern part of Kent, at the east end of the great wood which is called Andred; the wood is in length from east to west one hundred and twenty miles or longer, and thirty miles broad; the river of which we before spoke flows out of this weald. On this river they towed up their ships as far as the weald, four miles from the outward harbour, and there stormed a fortress: within the fortress a few ceorlish men were stationed, and it was in part only constructed. Then soon after that Haston, with eighty ships, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and wrought himself a fortress at Middleton; and the other army did the like at Apuldre.

An. 894.—And the great army also was come thereto, which had before sat at the mouth of the Limen at Appledore.

An. 993.—In this year came Olaf with ninety-three ships to Staines, and harried without it; and then went thence to Sandwich, and so thence to Ipswich, and ravaged all over it.

An. 1006.—And then after midsummer came the great fleet to Sandwich, and did as was before their wont, harried and burned, and slew as they went.

An. 1008.—In this year the king commanded that ships should be strenuously built over all England.

An. 1009.—In this year the ships, about which we before spoke, were ready; and there were so many of them as never before, from what books tell us, had been in England in any king's day. And they were all brought together at Sandwich, and were there to lie and hold this country against every foreign army. . . . When this naval force had thus ended, then soon after Lammas (Aug. 1st) came the immense hostile army, which we have called Thorkell's army, to Sandwich, and soon went their way to Canterbury.

An. 1013.—And in this same year, before the month of August, came king Svein with his fleet to Sandwich.

An. 1014.—And Cnut went away out with his fleet, and the miserable people were thus deceived through him; and he then went southward, until he came to Sandwich, and there caused the hostages that had been given to his father to be landed, and cut off their hands and ears and noses.

An. 1015.— . . . And then, at the same time, king Cnut came to Sandwich, and then immediately went about Kent to Wessex until he came to the mouth of the Frome, and then harried in Dorsetshire, and in Wiltshire, and in Somersetshire.

An. 1029.—In this year king Cnut came again to England; and as soon as he came again to England, he gave to Christchurch at Canterbury the haven at Sandwich, and all the dues that arise therefrom, from each side of the haven.

An. 1039.— And in this same year came king Harthacnut to Sandwich, seven nights before midsummer.

An. 1044 (1043).— And in the same year the king went out to Sandwich with thirty-five ships.

An. 1045.— And in the same summer king Edward went out with his ships to Sandwich, and there so great a force was gathered, that no man had seen any greater naval force in this land.

An. 1046 (1047).— And in this same year Lothin and Erling came with twenty-five ships to Sandwich, and took there unspeakable booty, in men, and in gold, and in silver, so that no man knew how much it all was.

Note.—This predatory expedition, assigned here to the year 1046, is of a much earlier date.

An. 1048.—And in the same year Sandwich and Wight were ravaged, and the best men who were there, slain.

An. 1048.—When he came east to Canterbury, he and his men took refection there, and went to Dover.

An. 1049.— And he (King Edward) went then to Sandwich and there continued to lie with a great naval force,

until the emperor had from Baldwine all he would and Earl Godwine went from Sandwich with forty-two ships to Pevensey, and Earl Biörn along with him; and then the king allowed all the Mercians to go home, and they did so. Then it was announced to the king that Osgod lay at Wulpe with thirty-nine ships. The king then sent after those ships which he could send off, which lay within Northmouth. . . . Then lay Earl Godwine and Earl Biörn at Pevensey with their ships.

An. 1050.— A little before that, the men of Hastings and thereabouts won two of his ships with their ships, and slew all the men and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king.

An. 1052.— And then king Eadward caused forty smacks to be equipped. They lay at Sandwich many weeks; they were to lie in wait for earl Godwine, who was in Bruges. . . . he enticed to him all the Kentish men, and all the “butsecarls” (shipmen) from Hastings and everywhere there by the sea coast. . . . When the fleet which lay at Sandwich was apprised of earl Godwine’s course they set out after him, and he escaped them; he secured himself wherever he could, and the fleet went again to Sandwich, and so home to London. When Godwine learned that the fleet which had lain at Sandwich was gone home, he went again to Wight, . . . and then went to Sandwich, and collected ever on with them all the “butse carls” that they met with, and then came to Sandwich with an overwhelming army. When king Eadward learned that, he sent up after more succour, but it came very slowly; and Godwine with his fleet ever inclined towards London, until he came to Southwark and there waited somewhile until the flood came up.

In another manuscript the description of the movements of this year varies considerably. Other ports are mentioned, so I give this second version also.

An. 1052.— and in the same year the king and his “witan” resolved that ships should be sent to Sandwich, and they set earl Ralph and earl Odda as captains thereto. Then earl Godwine went out from Bruges with his ships to Ysere (Ysendyk), and set sail one day before midsummer’s mass eve, so that he came to the Næss (Dungeness), which is to the south of Romney. It then came to be known to the earls out at Sandwich, and they went out after the other ships, and a land force was ordered out against the ships. Then in the meanwhile earl Godwine was warned, and betook himself to Pevensey; and the weather was very violent, so that the earls could not know how earl Godwine had fared. And then earl Godwine went out again until he came again to Bruges, and the other ships betook themselves again to Sandwich. And it was then resolved that the ships should again return to London, and that other earls and other chief officers should be appointed to the ships. And they [earl Godwine and Harold] then betook themselves thence to Pevensey, and got on with them as many ships as were there ready; and so until they came to Næss (Dungeness); and got all the ships that were in Romney, and in Hythe, and in Folkestone, and went then east to Dover, and landed there, and there took them ships and hostages as many as they would, and so went to Sandwich, and did just the same; and hostages were everywhere given them, and provisions wherever they desired. And then they betook themselves to Northmouth and so towards London; and some of the ships went within Sheppey, and there did great harm, and betook themselves to Kings Middleton and burned it all, and then went to London after the earls. When they came to London the king and all the earls lay against them with fifty ships.

An. 1052.—In the same year Eustace landed at Dover, who had king Eadward’s sister to wife.

An. 1066.—And he went thence and did harm everywhere by the coast where he could approach, until he came to

Sandwich. Then it was made known to king Harold who was in London, that Tostig his brother was come to Sandwich. He then gathered so great a naval force and also a land force, as no king here in the land had before gathered, because it had for truth been said to him, that Count William from Normandy, king Eadward's kinsman, would come hither and subdue this land all as it afterwards came to pass. When Tostig learned that, that king Harold was proceeding towards Sandwich, he went from Sandwich, and took some of the "butse carls" with him, some willingly, some unwillingly. . . . Then came king Harold to Sandwich and there awaited his fleet, because it was long before it could be gathered. And when his fleet was gathered, he went to Wight and there lay all the summer and the autumn. . . . And the ships were driven to London and many perished before they came thither. . . . Then came William count of Normandy to Pevensey, on St Michael's mass eve (Sept. 28th): and immediately after they were ready, they constructed a castle at the town of Hastings.

Leaving out the first entry, these entries in the *Anglo - Saxon Chronicle* extend from 851 to 1066 A.D.,—215 years. They show that Sandwich was a port capable of holding a large fleet of the small vessels then in use. The only other port large enough for a fleet was Pevensey. The ports are mentioned the following number of times in this chronicle :

Sandwich	25	Romney	1
Pevensey	4	Folkestone	1
Hastings	3	Hythe	1
Dover	2	Limene mouth	1
Northmouth	2		

Domesday Book, A.D. 1080, contains some rather obscure entries, the words being much abbreviated. I have extended them to make them intelligible.

Domesday Book, vol. i. p. 1, col. 1.—In introitu portus de Dovere est unum molendinum, quod omnes pene naves confringit propter magnam turbationem maris, et maximum damnum facit regi et hominibus, et non fuit ibi tempore regis Edwardi. De hoc dicit Nepos Herberti quod episcopus baiocensis concessit illum fieri Auunculo suo Herberto filio Iuonis. Vol. i., p. 11, col. 3.—Idem Hugo tenet in Dovere unum molinum qui reddit xlviii. ferlingels de frumento, et non pertinet ulli Manerio.

Florence of Worcester, called in Latin Florentius Wigornensis, gives the following passage, showing a great change at the mouth of the Thames. He gives two dates, of which the first appears to be correct. After this passage follows one which is the same as in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 851. It is uncertain which of them copied from the other.

Florentius Wigornensis (A.D. 1118).—Secundum Dionysium 851. Secundum Evangelium 873. Et ipso eodem anno primum hyemaverunt Pagani in Insula quæ vocatur Sceapege, quod interpretatur Insula ovium, quæ sita est in Thamesi flumine inter Eastsaxoniam et Cantuarios, sed et Cantiaë prior est quam Eastsaxoniam, in qua monasterium optimum constructum est.

The *Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary* is the earliest book that I have found written in English throwing any light upon the subject that

I am writing about. In the fighting times, from the Normans to the end of the Wars of the Roses, men had little time for thinking or writing. In the peaceful reign of Henry the Eighth we find an antiquary writing a book. Northmouth was at the northern end of the strait between Kent and the Isle of Thanet.

Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary (A.D. 1546) (Oxford, 1770), vol. vii. p. 138.—Thanet. At Northmouth where the Entry of the Se was the Salt Water swellith yet up at a Creeke a Myle and more toward a place called Sarre, which was the commune Fery when Thanet was full iled.

Vol. vii. p. 127.—Sandwic. The Caryke that was sonke yn the Haven yn Pope Paulus tyme did much Hurt to the Haven and gather a great Banke. The Ground self from Sandwiche to the Haven and inward to the Land is caulled Sanded Bay.

Vol. vii. p. 127.—Deale. halfe a Myle fro the shore of the Se, a Fisscher Village iii Myles or more above Sandwic, is upon a flat shore and very open to the Se, wher is a fosse or a great Bank artificial betwixt the town and the Se, and beginneth about Deale, and runneth a great way up toward S Margaret's clyfe, in so much that sum suppose that this is the place where Cæsar landed in aperto litore. Surely the Fosse was made to kepe owte Enemyes there, or to defend the rage of the Se; or I think rather the Casting up of beche or pible.

A ii Myles or more fro Sandwich from Northburn cummeth fresch Water yn to Sandwich Haven.

Vol. vii. p. 131.—Ratesburgh or Richboro.—Ratesburg otherwyse Richeboro was, or ever the Ryver of Sture did turn his bottom or old Canale within the Isle of Thanet, and by lykelyhod the mayn Se came to the very Foote of the

Castel. The mayn Se is now off yt a mile by reason of Wose, which is swollen up. . . . Corne groweth on the Hille in mervelous Plenty and in going to Plough ther hath owt of mynde fownd and now is more Antiquities of Romaine Money than in any place els in England. Surely Reason speaketh that this should be Rutupinum. For byside that the name somewhat toucheth, the very near passage fro Cales Clyves or Cales was to Ratesburgh and now is to Sandwich, the which is about a Myle of; though now Sandwich be not celebrated by cawse of Godwine Sands and the decay of the Haven.

Vol. iv. p. 127.—Dover. Dover is xii Myles fro Canterbury, and viii Myles fro Sandwich. There hath been a Haven yn 'Tyme past and in token thereof the Ground that lyeth up betwixt the Hilles is yet in digging fownd wosye. There hath been fownd also Peces of Cabelles and Anchores, and Itinerarum Antonini cawleth hyt by the name of Haven.

Archæologia, vol. xi. p. 241, 1794.—Copy of an old document:—

DOVER HAVEN

Articles of the true estate of

Dover Haven both before and sithens ye
building of ye Peere w^t the alterations made
by the beach, as it is found by ye examination of the
most sensible Auncient, and skilfull Men, by
direction of the Lord Admirall of England,
being at Douer the 21 December,
anno 1581

Before the peere was built out, there are men alyue can remember that there was no bankes or shelves of beache to be seene before Douer, but all cleane sea, betwene Arteclif tower and the castle clyffe.

Johannis Twini Bolingdunensis, *Angli, de Rebus Albionicis*, Londini, 1590, p. 25.—Recita quæso si quid habes hujus

argumenti, nescio enim quanta cum expectatione, Abbas, sumus te audituri. Tum ille, dicam equidem, inquit, ac lubens, quoniam, quæ postulas, non sunt procul a memoria nostra remota. Thanatos enim nostro fere ævo, ex insula facta est peninsula sive Chersonesus, superantibus adhuc octo fide dignis viris, qui non modo cymbas minutiores, verum etiam grandiores naviculas, onerariasque measse ac remeasse inter insulam et nostram continentem, frequente navigatione vidisse se aiunt. Cursus erat in fluvio illo sive mari potius, quoniam aquæ erant salsæ, cui propter tranquillitatem trajiciendi, immunitatemque a periculo, Wanthomus, id est Domesticus transitus nomen inditum est.

The following letter from Sir Walter Raleigh shows when the Cinque Ports ceased to be an important part of our national defences. Since that time Dover harbour has been kept up with government money, and Rye remains a flourishing little port. The other head ports and many of the members have disappeared. A few of the members have risen to importance for various reasons, as Folkestone and Ramsgate.

A Discourse of the Sea Ports principally of the Port and Haven of Dover, written by Sir Walter Rawleigh to Q. E., London, 1700, p. 3.—And if that our Renowned King your Majesty's Father, of famous memory, Henry the 8th, in his time found how necessary it was to make a haven at Dover (when Sandwich, Rye, Camber and others were good havens, and Calais also then in his Possession), and yet spared not to bestow his own Treasure so great a Masse in building of that Pier, which then secured a probable mean to perform the same: How much more is the same now needful, or rather of necessity (those good Havens being extreamly decayed), no

safe Harbour being left in all the Coast almost between Portsmouth and Yarmouth.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 241.—Sandwich nunc incolis satis frequens, licet portus ex aggestis arenis, et magna nava onoraria Pauli IIII P P in ipso alveo depressa, non sit majoribus navigiis ferendis justa altitudine.

There is something wrong in the following. Paulus IIII. was pope from 1555 to 1559. Leland wrote in 1546. Possibly this is an addition of his editor in 1770.

The *Itinerary of Thomas Leland the Antiquary*, 1546, Oxford, 1770, vol. vii. p. 127.—The Caryke that was sonke yn the Haven yn Pope Paulus time did much hurt to the Haven.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 242.

	Mare namque ut paria faceret, quod alibi
Rumney	hac in ora hauserit, hic redidit, vel recedendo,
Marsh	vel limum subinde opponendo; ut nonnulla
	loca, quia avorum memoria mari incubuerint,
	uno et altero milliari a mari jam disjunguntur.
p. 247	Rumney, sive Romeney, et olim Romanel
	quod nomine Romanorum opus fuisse con-
Rumney	jectant nonnulli, hujustractus principium est
	oppidum, et in numero quinque portuum cujus
	membra censentur Vetus Romeney et Lid, quæ
	junctim quinque naves bellicas, ea qua ante
	diximus forma, apparare tenentur. Sedit
	æditiori tumulo e glaria et sabulo, portumque
	ad occasum habuit satis capacem, et ad pleros-
	que ventos commodum, priusquam mare se
	subduxit.

Anno 1287 Verum regnante Edwardo primo cum Oceanus ventorum violentia exaspiratus hunc

tractum operuisset, lateque hominum, pecorum, ædificiorumque stragem dedisset; et Promhill viculo frequenti pessundato, etiam Rother, qui hic prius se in Oceanum exoneravit, alveo emovit, ostiumque obstruxit, novo in mare aditu compendio per Rhiam aperto: ita ut sensim hoc oppidum deseruerit; quod jam indecrevit, et pristinae frequentiae et dignitatis multum amisit.

The information given in this chapter is believed to be all, or nearly all, that can be found about this coast in books down to Domesday Book. From that date down to 1500 not much search has been made. After that, from Leland in 1546 to Camden in 1607, a great deal of information has been gained. Then comes a gap to Hasted in 1778. The remainder of the quotations will come in best when we go through the ports in geographical order. In order to show the relative importance of the ports at various times, the following lists are given which must be taken for what they are worth. The sudden fluctuations are not intelligible. The first column is from Cole's *History of Hastings and the Battlefield*. "T R E" stands for "tempore regis Edwardi," that is, the Confessor. The other columns are from *Cinque Ports*, by Captain Montagu Burrows, pages 91, 124, and 141.

[*Ships*

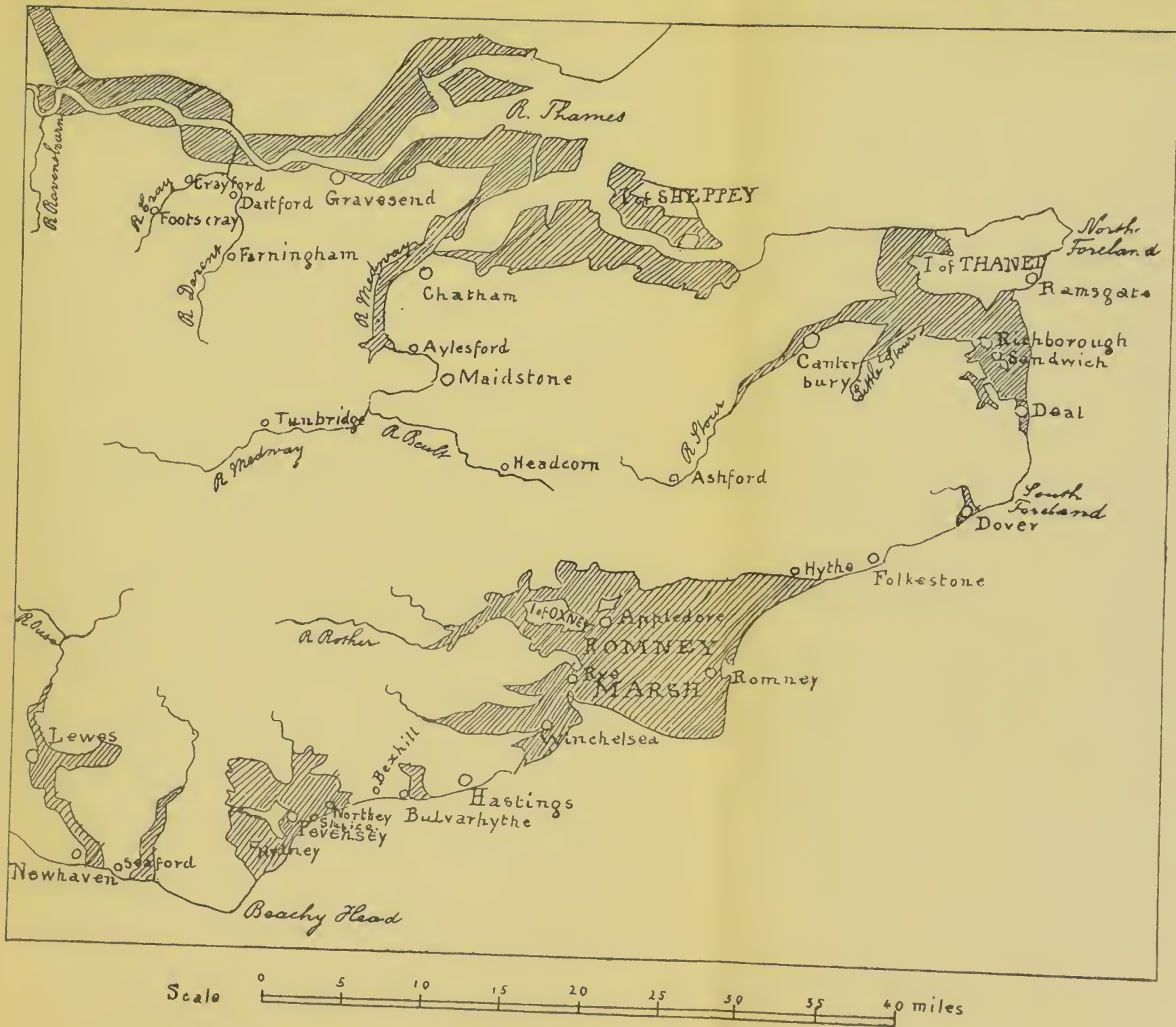
Ships furnished by the different Ports.

	T R E	1229	1296	1347
Hastings . .	6	6	3	5
Winchelsea . .	10	10	13	21
Rye	5	5	7	9
Romney . . .	5	5	3	4
Hythe	5	5	3	6
Dover	21	21	7	16
Sandwich . .	5	5	12	22
	57	57	50	
Faversham . .	...	...	...	2
Seaford . . .	...	...	...	5
Margate . . .	...	...	...	15
				105

I have made a map reduced from the one-inch Ordnance map of the first edition of 1813 or thereabouts. On this the parts are shaded which are shown on the Ordnance as not solid ground, but marsh or shingle. The only part of this coast that I do not know is from Romney to Dover. We will now go through the ports in order from west to east. The map should be kept open.

Seaford is the most westerly of the Cinque Ports.

THE LEVELS OF KENT & SUSSEX.



It is a member of Hastings, and was formerly at or near the mouth of the Ouse, which now goes straight into the sea at Newhaven, 2 miles further west. The Ordnance map shows the remains of part of the bed of the river from Newhaven to Seaford and a little beyond. In some parts the shingle bank outside the river has been washed away. There is now a high shingle bank between Seaford and the sea, but this is partly artificial. Roman remains have been found to the east of the town.

A Handbook for East-Bourne, etc., by George F. Chambers, F.R.A.S., 14th edition, 1883, p. 98.—The river Ouse, which now enters the sea at Newhaven, formerly did so at Seaford, and then Seaford had some pretensions to being a seaport town, but it is nothing of the kind now. Newhaven has grown into a port, whilst Seaford is merely a small summer watering-place.

The diversion of the Ouse was due to a great storm in the reign of Elizabeth, and presumably in 1570. The river, which between Newhaven (till then called Meeching) and Seaford followed a course nearly parallel to the sea beach, on the occasion in question broke through its right bank, and formed a new channel, which it never afterwards forsook until the existing cut was made, artificially, somewhat to the west. This event was a blow, of course, to Seaford from which it never recovered.

No authority is given for the statement in the next quotation, and I have not been able to find it in any older book. It is not mentioned by Mark Antony Lower in his *Memorials of Sussex*.

Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain, by A. C. Ramsay, LL.D., F.R.S., etc., p. 541.—There is, of course, plenty of evidence that some of the alluvial deposits of the Thames and many other southern rivers are post-glacial, and the history of these alluvia can often be traced down to historical times, as, for example, in the case of the alluvial meadows of the Ouse, once a commodious estuary, in which the Saxon fleets could ride as far up as Alport, a mile above Lewes.

Pevensey harbour, as shown upon my map, must at one time have measured 6 miles each way. It is now turned into Pevensey Level, a marsh of which part is certainly several feet below high-water mark. The water is let out at low tide by means of sluices.

A Handbook for East-Bourne, Chambers, p. 124.—The alluvium of the Pevensey Levels generally consists of mud with freshwater shells, then mud with *Scrobicularia piperata* and other æstuarine shells, and lastly a bed consisting of decayed vegetable matter, which is often a forest bed. In many places between Pevensey and St Leonards these forest beds are exposed on the shore through the encroachments of the sea, and the removal of the less tenacious alluvial beds which once covered them.

The History of Imbanking and Draining, by William Dugdale, Esq., Norrot King at Arms, London, 1662, p. 97.—In 4 H. 4 [1403] the jury presented . . . And that there was need of a new Sluse at Pevensey Bridge.

A Handbook for Travellers in Kent and Sussex, John Murray, 1858, p. 291.—Pevensey. The harbour here was formed by the mouth of the Ashbourne river, navigable for small vessels as high as Pevensey Bridge until about 1700.

The tradition is that the sea came up to Pevensey Castle in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The castle is now a mile from the sea, and the river runs through the shingle bank in pipes at low water. The part of the level between Pevensey and Pevensey Sluice, at the village called Sluice, and inland from there, is below high-water mark and is marshy. The part nearer Eastbourne is higher and appears to be shingle. The bank outside the marsh is shingle, and has to be repaired from time to time. The coast between Sluice and Bexhill has been much washed away lately. T. H. Cole, in his *Antiquities of Hastings and the Battlefield*, page 15, says that the road between Hastings and Pevensey has been four times destroyed. The Ordnance map shows seven Martello towers between these two places, and now there are none. This part is solid ground. The river from Pevensey is shown on the map to have run along the coast eastward, and the river from Sluice is shown to have done the same as far as Bexhill, where traces of it might be seen a few years back. In the level are several raised parts, which must have been islands before the marsh was formed. On one of these islands stands Pevensey. This is considered to have been the Roman Anderida. The outer walls of the castle are Roman, the inner Norman.

It has been shown that Pevensey was mentioned

in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 1049 and 1052 as a place where a fleet could lie, and that in 1066 William the Conqueror arrived there with a large fleet. History does not inform us how much of the harbour was then mud or marsh, or how he went across it to Battle, or Hastings. Neither are we told when the sea receded from the castle, or when the shingle bank was formed.

Northeye and Hydney appear to have stood upon two small islands in Pevensey harbour. They have disappeared. Northeye is described as being 3 miles north-east of Pevensey, that is, near Sluice. There are some small islands there standing above the marsh. The maps in various editions of Camden's *Britannia* show Nordy Chap or Nordye Cha, which may stand for Northeye Chapel. In Willingdon parish, north-west of Eastbourne, is a house called Court Hydney. This is the only thing remaining of Hydney. In my map I have placed these two little towns upon the most suitable islands.

Bexhill is considered by some to be the same as Bexelei of Domesday Book. From the termination of the name, Bexelei appears to have been upon an island, which may have been washed away. The following quotation cannot refer to the existing village of Bexhill, which is on a hill inland. Bexhill on Sea is quite modern.

The History of Imbanking, etc., by William Dugdale, p. 100.—So also in 1 H. 6 for those banks between Hastings and Bexele.

Going eastward from Bexhill on Sea we come to Bulvarhythe, at least the name is on the map, but nothing remains except the inn. Just beyond this was the harbour, which the map shows to have been half a mile broad, and to have run inland two miles and a half. Some of Camden's maps show a little of this harbour.

The Antiquities of Hastings and the Battlefield, by Thomas Holwell Cole, p. 22.—Town ordnance passed 1676 That Shallops and other outlandish vessels which put into Bulvarhythe Haven shall pay 12d. for every vessel to the Pierwarden.

The river must have been the haven at this time. This river running down the valley after the harbour was filled up turned to the east along the coast and ran in front of the whole of what is now St Leonard's. This is shown in Camden's maps and partly in the Ordnance. Upon St Leonard's becoming a watering-place, this did not suit the owners of the land and a new cut was made further west. Some of Camden's maps show an island off Hastings. This may have been a part of the shingle bank outside the river, cut off by the sea breaking through. There is a local tradition that William the Conqueror landed at Bo-peep, at the west end of St Leonard's, but this is not supported

by history. The Ordnance map shows five Martello towers between Bulvarhythe and Bo-peep. None remain.

The following information about Hastings is derived mostly from Cole's *Hastings*, and *Cinque Ports* by Montagu Burrows. It appears in those books mostly in a shape that makes it difficult to quote, so I do not refer to the pages.

Hastings was the first named in the old charters of the Cinque Ports, and claims to be the premier port. The original harbour was in the Priory Valley, to the west of the Castle Hill, and the town was on the west side of the entrance to the harbour, upon ground outside the present Parade, which was afterwards washed away. In Domesday Book a new Burg is mentioned, which has been identified with the town in the Bourne Valley to the east of Castle Hill, and between that and East Cliff, now called the old town. It is not known when this second harbour came to an end, nor what was its exact position. The remains of a pier may still be seen at low tide, which Queen Elizabeth is said to have built to improve this harbour. It does not appear to have had the desired effect. Camden's maps show that later on it was intended to make a new harbour outside the remains of the one in Priory Valley, or further west. The coast is now almost a straight line the whole length of Hastings

and St Leonard's. The fishing boats are drawn up on the open beach in front of the Bourne Valley.

What remains of the first harbour may still be easily traced. Walking east from St Leonard's end of Hastings along the Parade you come to a fall in the ground and a break in the pavement. Here the pleasure boats are drawn up right in the line of the Parade. This was the entrance to the old harbour. Walking straight inland from this spot to the obelisk, and turning a little to the right, without rising, you come to the cricket ground, dead level, which shows the extent of the harbour. The harbour in the Bourne Valley cannot be traced. Possibly the ground on both sides of it has been washed away.

A great part of the old town to the west of the harbour in Priory Valley stood upon low ground, since washed away. The parish of St Peter's has disappeared. It may have been destroyed in 1325, when the embankments near Hastings burst. In the Bishop of Chichester's *Register* of 1440 we read that within one hundred years St Andrew's, St Leonard's, St Michael's, and St Margaret's have been depopulated and diminished by the sea.

In the corporation map of 1742 the harbour in the Priory Valley is shown with vessels in it. In Speed's map of 1608 it is shown as a considerable

inlet. Camden's maps show the two harbours slightly. Cole gives a map of Hastings in 1291. It is only a retrospect, and shows the haven in 1746 and the pier of 1500.

After leaving Hastings, the coast is high for 4 miles and then comes level. I shall treat all these levels as far as Hythe, 23 miles, together, including the Cinque Ports in or near them—Winchelsea, Petit Iham or Higham, Rye, Tenderden, Bromhill, Dengemarsh, Lydd, Oswaldstone, Old Romney, Romney, West Hythe, and Hythe. Appledore and Lympne will also be referred to.

What is usually known as Romney Marsh is divided into two parts by the Rhee Wall, which stretches from Appledore to Romney. Only the part to the north-east of this wall is properly called Romney Marsh; the part to the south-west of the wall has several names—Denge Marsh, Walland Marsh, Guildeford Marsh, Pett Level, etc. There is a map in T. Lewin's *Invasions of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, showing what lands had been inned (that is, enclosed) previous to the fourteenth century. On this map is the following statement:—

All Romney Marsh proper was reclaimed at once by the erection of Rhee Wall from Appledore to Romney, but by whom the work was executed is uncertain. Some refer it to the Bilgæ of ancient Britain, who brought the art of embanking from the Netherlands. Others give credit to the Romans. The marsh was certainly under cultivation in the

time of the Romans, as Roman remains are found extensively over the whole area.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 12.—No remains of the Romans have been found at Romney, but abundant evidence of their having settled in great numbers at Dymchurch, halfway between the Old and New ports, has of late years been discovered in the form of very extensive potteries.

P. 251.—Old Romney. As modern antiquaries have succeeded in delivering us from the old derivation which connected “Romney” with “Rome” or “Roman” in any form, so also have they got rid of the prefix “New,” which was foisted upon it by mistake in the 15th century.

The Portus Lemanis of the Romans was in these parts. In one place only it is called Lemanis Flumen (reference unfortunately lost). Antoninus, in his *Itinerary*, mentions three roads from Canterbury (Duroverno) to the coast. That to Portus Lemanis must be the one shown on the Ordnance map running to the west of south, and pointing to a place on the coast between Lympne and West Hythe, but not going quite so far. At this point on the edge of the solid ground of Kent are the remains of a Roman castle, now called Stutfall Castle.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 246.

Hith sive Hid.	Ad quartum miliare Hith sedet, e quinque portubus unus, unde et illud nomen assumpsit, quod Saxonibus portum sive stationem sonat; licet nunc vix illud nomen ob arenas occumu- lata tueatur, quibus mare longius excluditur.
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Nec tamen ita diu est, ex quo primum emicuit, ex occaso scilicet Westhythi, Opidulum illud est ad Ocasum vicinum, portusque fuit, donec hinc se mare proavorum memoria submoverit. Originem autem uti et Westhythum, Limo debuit viculo adjacenti, qui olim celeberrimus

Portus erat portus, donec arenæ quas mare evomit
Lemanus. obstruxiosent.

Camden's word may be taken as to West Hythe, but it is not clear whether his statement about Lypne is from tradition, or whether it is because he thought Lypne was the Portus Lemanis. The distance given by Antoninus from Doru-vernium to Portus Lemanis is 16 Roman miles, equal to $14\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, which is the exact distance from Canterbury to the marsh at West Hythe. There is no reason to doubt that Stutfall Castle was at the Portus Lemanis. The harbour diminished by degrees until it was finally stopped up after Camden's time. As Dymchurch was standing in the time of the Romans, no change can have taken place between the harbour at Hythe and Romney since that time.

Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, 1546 (Oxford, 1769), vol. vii. p. 141.—Hithe. The Haven is a pretty Rode, and liith meatly strayt for Passage out to Boleyn. It croketh yn so by the Shore a long, and is so bakked from the mayn Se with casting of Shinggil, that smaul Shippes may cum up a large Myle toward Folkestan as yn a sure Gut. Lymme Hill or Lyne was sometime a famous Haven,

and good for Shyppes that might come to the Foote of the Hille. The place is yet cawled Shipway and old Haven.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 216.—Hythe. The great shingle bank refused to be controlled. . . . At any rate the Haven, which even in Leland's time [1546] admitted "small shyppes for a long myle towards Folkestan as a sure gut," became in 1634 "absolutely stopped and starved up."

Romney, though one of the head ports, never was a place of much importance. Its position on the marsh cut it off to a great extent from Kent, and it was a bad starting-place for the continent. It came to a sudden end just before Leland's time, 1546.

Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, vol. vii. p. 142.—Rumeny is one of the V ports and hath been a metely good haven, in so much that withyn remembrece of Men Shippes have cum hard up to the Towne, and cast Ancres yn one of the Church Yardes. The Se is now a ii Myles fro the Towne, so sore thereby now decayed that where ther wher iii great Paroches and Churches sumtime is now scant one well maintained.

In the Ordnance map Romney is only half a mile from the sea. A mile and a half of shingle must have been washed away since Leland's time.

Vol. vii. p. 143.—The very Towne of Rumney and a ii Myles about yt was alway by lykelyhood dry Land, and ons, as it is supposed, the Se cam abowt hyt, or at least abowt the great part of yt.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 208.—The gallant attempts to avert the collapse which had taken place when Leland wrote are traceable in the records all through the previous century. In 1401 we have the expense "for making

and digging a new harbour," and in 1406 that for digging the "common Ree" (the old bed of the channel by the side of the Roman embankment). The expenditure on sluices was incessant.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 247.

Rumney. Sedet æditiori tumulo e glarea et sabulo, portumque ad occasum habuit satis capacem, et ad plerosque ventus commodum, priusquam mare se subduxisset. . . . Verum regnante Anno 1287. Edwardo primo, cum Oceanus ventorum violentia exasperatus hunc tractum operuisset, lateque hominum, pecorum, ædificiorumque stragem dedisset; et Promhill viculo frequenti pessundato, etiam Rother qui hic prius se in Oceanum exoneravit, alveo emovit, ostiumque obstruxit, novo in mare aditu compendio per Rhiam aperto: ita ut sensim hoc oppidum deseruerit, quod jam inde decrevit et pristinæ frequentiæ et dignitatis multum amisit.

Origines Celticæ, by Edwin Guest, LL.D., F.R.S., 1883, vol. ii. p. 350.—In Romney marshes the sea-silt has been found on boring to be fully ninety feet deep.

We now come to that most erratic river, the Limene or Rother. From its source it runs more or less east to Robertsbridge. This part of its course is through solid ground above the level of the sea. From Robertsbridge it runs east 8 miles through marsh half a mile broad to Oxney Island. This marsh was formed by an arm of the sea, and also the marsh all round Oxney Island. The northern passage leads to Appledore. The map in Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, shows a broad

river on each side of the Oxney Island, joining again at the south-east corner. His map of 1616 shows a broad river on the north, and only a stream on the south. The map in Gibson's translation of Camden, 1753, shows two broad streams, the northern one being marked Rother. According to the Ordnance map, the waters of the Rother now flow entirely on the south side of the island. In historical times the mouth of the river has never been further inland than Appledore. The explanation of the following statements as to the position of the mouth is this. Shingle was washed up at the mouth of the river at Appledore, and by degrees the mouth was shifted further and further to the south-east, the river running along the Rhee Wall to Romney. Then the shingle bank was broken through at Appledore and a new mouth formed there. This was again filled up and the mouth shifted to Romney again, and so on backwards and forwards. Sometimes an opening was made between Appledore and Romney. In the next quotation it is not positively stated that Romney is at the mouth of the Limene or Rother, but the explanation given makes it reasonable to think that that is the meaning of the passage.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 14.—Eadbright's Charter of 741 runs thus:—I, Eadbright, King, by surname Eating, for the salvation of my soul, grant to the Church of

Christ in Canterbury the fishery at the mouth of the River Limene, and the part of the land in which is situated the Vill St Martin [afterwards Romney], with the houses of the fishermen and the fourth part of a plough-land around that place, and pasture for 150 beasts near the marsh which is called Bisceopeswic [in Lydd] as far as Rhyp Wood and the borders of South Saxony [Sussex].

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 894.—And the great army [of Danes] also was come thereto, which had before sat at the mouth of the Limen at Appledore.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 237.—Dengemarsh, which lies to the south-east of Lydd, was “inued” in the eighth century.

P. 14.—Offa also in 774, having annexed Kent, granted to Jaenbeht, Archbishop of Canterbury, three plough-lands or sulings of Merschware land, called Hlidum [Lydd], from Dengemarsh to a certain stone, and in the same year part of the marsh-land at the same place to the monks of Christ Church at Canterbury.

Lewin's map shows that a great deal of marsh to the south-west of the Rhee Wall was inued between 1100 and 1300. He shows an imaginary course of the river Rother, without date, running from Appledore outside the marshes near the Rhee Wall, and turning north-east to Romney. No authority is given for this. His map shows the state of the shingle at different dates, and is not very easy to understand. He gives no dates to Dengeness, or to two long spits of shingle near Rye.

History of Imbanking and Drainage, by William Dugdale, 1662, p. 20. 42. H[enry] 3 [A.D. 1258].—About this time I find that the K[ing] had advertisement that his

Haven of Rumenale was in great danger of destruction, to the no little damage of the publick and excessive annoyance of the Towne of Rumenale, unless the course of the River of Newendene, whereupon the said Haven was founded, being then diverted by the Overflowings of the Sea, were reduced to the said Port.

Newenden is on the Rother, above Oxney Island, so that the river mentioned is the Rother with a new name. On p. 17 Dugdale quotes from a charter about A.D. 900, mentioning the river Rumen ea. That makes four names for the same river. Notwithstanding the precautions taken by Henry III., which brought the Rother back to Romney, another change took place in the next reign.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 16.—No further progress was made in reclaiming marshes till the occurrence of that great convulsion of the elements which was remarked by all the chroniclers in 1287, . . . the sea submerged Winchelsea . . . and Bromhill . . . hurled great masses of debris upon the artificial course of the Rother, thus changing it to the more natural one which it still follows on its passage to the sea by Rye.

History of Imbanking, etc., by W. Dugdale, p. 83.—At the beginning of E[dward] 3 time, it being found . . . that the chanel of a certain river . . . between a certain place called Knellesflete in the confines of those counties and the Towne of Robertsbridge in Sussex, was so much enlarged by the flowing of the Sea-tides into it, that six hundred and fifty acres of land . . . were thereby totally drowned and consumed . . . and the bridge of Newenden, as also the said bridge, were broken and demolished by those tides.

The first Winchelsea was a few miles to the east or south-east of the present one, not far from Promhill. It was destroyed by the sea.

A. Whiteman's *Illustrated Sixpenny Handbook to Rye and Winchelsea*, p. 33.—Camber or Winchelsea Castle. This edifice is known by either of these names. When the present town of Winchelsea was erected in the latter part of the fourteenth century by Edward I., on the destruction of the original, which stood to the south-east of the mouth of Rye Harbour, the sea flowed all around it; but in the course of a century, or a little more, a beach bank was formed at the eastern foot of Fairlight Cliff, and extended itself as far to the eastward as the spot on which the castle stands. . . . Now the sea is quite a mile distant.

The new Winchelsea soon ceased to be a port in consequence of the retreat of the sea; and there being no other reason for its existence, it was deserted. For a short time it was a large and wealthy town. According to the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* it was, at its best, 2 miles in circumference, but in 1822 there were only 126 houses remaining. The neighbouring member, Petit Iham, also suffered from the retreat of the sea, and has almost disappeared. According to Lewin's map, Walland Marsh was inned in 1400, so that the sea south of Appledore was being narrowed on both sides. Experience has shown that whenever land which has been formed by the sea, and is below high-water mark, is enclosed, more mud or shingle collects outside. Thus the

enclosing of Romney Marsh proper caused the formation of the marshes to the south-west of it; and as these were enclosed, more were formed, until the water was reduced to the width of a river.

While these changes were going on at Winchelsea, the river Rother refused to lie quietly in its bed. I give again an extract which shows that in 1406 the mouth was a little short of Romney.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 208.—The gallant attempts to avert the collapse which had taken place when Leland wrote are traceable in the records all through the previous century. In 1401 we have the expense “for making and digging a new harbour, and in 1406 that for digging the “common Ree” (the old bed of the channel by the side of the Roman embankment). The expenditure on sluices was incessant.

Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, 1546, p. 143.—The Fresch Water or River, which cummeth to Appuldor, risith abowt Bodiam. Oxney Isle is toward a X Myles in Cumpace, and is cumpased abowt with Salt Water excepte where yt is devided by the fresch Water fro the Continent. . . . Fro Appuldor to the mayne Se or Pudle VI Myle.

P. 140.—To Robertsbridge, to Bodiham Castel on the farther Ripe towards Rhie. There is a Bridge over, and the Water a little Brakkische. . . . The very Mouth of the Entery of Limene or Appuldoure Water is about a Myle fro Rye Toune by Southeste.

Camden's maps sixty years after Leland show a pretty broad piece of water from Appledore south past Rye to the sea, so that by Limene or Appuldoure Water, Leland must have meant an arm of the sea, not a river. After Camden's time

the water between Appledore and Rye closed up till it was only a river. From Rye the river turned south-east for a short distance to the sea. This is called in the Ordnance map Rye Old Harbour. After a time this mouth was closed and the river ran out near Winchelsea, the mouth being called Rye New Harbour. Later on, the New Harbour was closed, and the Old Harbour opened again. The river between Rye and Winchelsea first ran from Winchelsea to Rye, then from Rye to Winchelsea, and now from Winchelsea to Rye.

We see, then, that the mouth of the river has been at the following places at the following dates :

741, Romney.

894, Appledore.

Before 1258, Romney.

1258, somewhere short of Romney.

1286, Romney.

1287, Appledore, water open to Rye.

1406, somewhere in the Common Ree,
short of Romney.

1546, Appledore, water open past Rye.

Before 1820, Rye Old Harbour.

1820, Rye New Harbour.

1893, Rye Old Harbour.

All these changes are small compared with the one which took place earlier if it is true that the

flumen Lemanis formerly ran out at Lympne, having come from Appledore between Romney Marsh and Kent, where the Military Canal now lies. This seems probable, but has not yet been proved. The difficulty is that Romney Marsh is so much below the level of the sea.

The next port east of Romney Marsh is Folkestone. It was never of any importance until it was taken in hand by the railway company.

Next comes Dover. It has been shown that the original harbour was up the stream a mile inland from the present sea front. According to Lyon, this was silted up in Saxon times, though, from an extract which has been given from Domesday Book, it appears that a part of it was open at that date. Government took up the improving the harbour from time to time as a national affair. The present harbours and nearly all the ground in front of the cliff are the result of works begun in Henry VIII.'s time, and finished by Elizabeth. Lyon gives a long account of them. For a long time it appeared that no good was being done. The further the groins were built out, the more the shingle collected and blocked up the harbour. A new Admiralty harbour is now being made.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 242.

Oppidum quod inter cautes considet (ubi

Dubris portus ipse olim fuit, quum mare se insinuaret,
 Dover uti ex anchoris et navium tabulis erutis
 colligitur) portus opportunitate, quæ jam fere
 nulla est, et in Galliam trajectu magis cele-
 bratur, quam sua vel elegantia, vel frequentia.

History of the Town and Port of Dover, by Rev. J. Lyon, 1813, vol. ii. p. 146.—The part of the town called the Pier has all been built since the reign of Henry the Eighth, upon the waste left by the sea.

Vol. ii. p. 149.—The harbour. There are no records remaining to point out the time when the depth of the stream was so much diminished as not to admit vessels into the valley; but it is certain that, as early as Edward the Confessor, the mariners were obliged to seek shelter for their boats on the eastern side of the bay, and they continued to use that place as a harbour for many years; for when William the First fortified the town with a wall and towers, the harbour was at the foot of the hill, near the wine vaults, where the low ground still appears, and was used for many years as a farmyard, a garden, and for other purposes.

After passing the South Foreland we come to St Margaret's Bay. The village is inland, on the chalk, but there are a few houses by the sea, built on the shingle. It is unknown to history, and is not a Cinque Port. There is a local tradition that some Huguenots landed here. The shingle is being washed away, and there is very little ground now left below the cliffs. Until a few years ago there was a carriage road over the shingle northwards to Kingsdown, but this has been washed away near St Margaret's Bay.

Kingsdown is a small fishing village, partly on

the shingle and partly inland. The shore is quite straight here, and there are no signs of a harbour.

Ringwold is a mile inland, a very small village. There does not appear to be any reason why it should be a Cinque Port.

Walmer is built on the shingle which here stretches some way inland. The shore is straight, and no notice is to be found in history of any changes here.

Deal is also on the shingle, with shingle and flat country behind. It became important upon the closing of Sandwich harbour. It was made a Cinque Port in the thirteenth century. The shore is quite straight, but the anchorage is good, and the high chalk downs towards Dover give shelter from the south-west wind, so that numbers of ships stop off this place. The anchorage is called the Downs. Upper Deal is said to be older than Deal, and to have been built before the shingle was washed up upon which Deal stands. I have found nothing about this in print, except modern statements.

After leaving Deal, the coast is shingle for several miles, with marsh further inland. Then we come to Sandwich, standing 2 miles from the shore, behind the shingle. Rutupiæ is to be discussed in a separate chapter, which will include a great deal about Sandwich and the marsh between Kent and the Isle of Thanet. I therefore now only

give a few extracts which do not appear in that chapter. Early in this chapter I have given a few.

History of Imbanking, etc., by William Dugdale, 1662, p. 36.—The K. Edw. the first, by his Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster XVI^o Maii, in the thirteenth year of his reign; making mention that he had granted a licence to his Barons of Sandwich for the digging of a certain Trench over the lands lying betwixt Gestlinge and Stoneflete to the said Towne of Sandwich; to the intent that the passage of the water called Northbroke, which was at Gestling, should be diverted; so that it might run to Sandwich, for the perpetual commodity of the Town, and his Barons thereof.

Here is another description which reads differently, but the map shows that the streams from Northbroke and Eastry join one another. This stream plays a very important part in Cæsar's invasions.

Collections for an History of Sandwich, by William Boys, F.A.S., 1792, p. 790.—The other supplies of water are from the haven, and the delf, which is an artificial canal raised in some parts above the level of the grounds through which it runs, and was made in the time of Edw. I. for the purpose of furnishing the inhabitants of Sandwich with water. It begins at a place called roaring gutter, and running through the town discharges its waters into the haven near Canterbury gate. . . . The stream from which it leads rises in Eastry brooks, near the village of Eastry, and, running through Ham marshes, it skirts Worth minnis on the south side, and after a course of $1190\frac{3}{4}$ rods discharges its superfluous waters.

Edinburgh Gazetteer, 1822.—Sandwich. In sinking, however, into the ground, in all parts round the town, a plentiful

stream of fine water rises from under the stratum of flint 40 or 50 feet deep.

In the time of Edward the First the sea was close to Sandwich, so it was necessary to bring fresh water from a distance. In 1822 the sea was 2 miles off, so fresh water could be found by digging wells. However, the stream still runs into Sandwich, and enters the town close to the road from Deal.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 141.—The siege of Calais in 1347. The first of these squadrons mustered at Sandwich, which was still the only port at a convenient distance which could accommodate so large a fleet. The total number amounted to 710 ships and 14,151 men.

The decline of this port was very sudden. In an earlier part of this chapter a letter was given from Sir Walter Raleigh, not later than 1603, saying that there was then no safe harbour between Portsmouth and Yarmouth.

Stonor is on the marsh or shingle just on the opposite side of the river to Sandwich. Population in 1825, 44. At one time its trade was greater than that of Sandwich. This is not intelligible, because it is on the wrong side of the river for ships to unload for England. It is not known when it was built. The first mention of it is in Canute's time, 1017 to 1042.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 32.—Stonar had been granted by Cnut to the monks of St Augustine's.

P. 35.—In the twelfth century Stonar was fain to become a humble member of the Cinque Port.

P. 154.—In 1365 Stonar, the old rival of Sandwich, was almost entirely destroyed by an inundation after a storm, and never rose again.

The river Stour will be discussed in another chapter, which will also contain remarks on Fordwich and Beakesbourne.

The ports and villages on the outside of the Isle of Thanet were mostly made members of the Cinque Ports at a late date, and have no importance in the history of the Cinque Ports, nor in the question of the change of the coast line. Several of them are inland.

The remaining Cinque Ports, Reculver, Faversham, and Grench or Grange in Kent, and Brightlingsea in Essex, do not require any notice.

An extract has been given from Florence of Worcester, stating that Sheppey was between Essex and Kent, but nearer to Kent. My map shows that before the passage was silted up Sheppey was 4 miles from Kent. On the other side of Sheppey, land has been lost from time to time.

Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain, p. 485.—In the Isle of Sheppey, great slips are of frequent occurrence from the high cliff of London Clay that overlooks the sea. Two acres of wheat and potatoes in this manner slipped seaward in 1863. When I saw them the crops were standing on the shattered ground below the edge of the cliff.

I cannot find any historical confirmation that the Goodwin Sands were once an island, the estate of Earl Godwin. All that is known about them is that they have changed considerably from time to time. Neither can I make anything out of the island Lomea, which I have found mentioned more than once. It may have been formed by the river Stour cutting itself a new channel.

Working from the information collected in this chapter, we will now try to imagine where the coast line was in the time of Cæsar. It seems most probable that the levels were only beginning to be formed. Some may have been much forwarder than others. If the bottom was only a few feet below high-water mark, the marsh would be formed up to a high-water mark much sooner than if the bottom was twenty or thirty lower; that is, supposing the marsh was formed by a river. In the case of level formed by the sea, the formation would depend very much upon the amount of the drift of the shingle, about which nothing is known. In some places large quantities have been deposited and afterwards washed away, as between St Margaret's Bay and Walmer. If the sea washes against the bottom of chalk cliffs, they will be washed away by degrees; but if there is shingle against the bottom of the cliffs above high-water mark, the decay will be very slow. The grass on the sloping

part of the cliff at Beachy Head shows that there has been no change there lately.

Starting from the west, we have a statement, without a reference, that in Saxon times the inlet at Newhaven was open up to Lewes. Between Newhaven and Seaford land has been washed away. We have no information about the next little inlet in which the river Cuckmere now runs, nor about the chalk cliff at Seaford, or from Cuckmere Haven to Beachy Head and Eastbourne. We know very little about the great harbour at Pevensey. There was a harbour there in Saxon times, but that may have been only a tenth of the whole. I am inclined to believe that a great part of this harbour was filled up at an early date. Between Pevensey and Bulvarhythe, we know that solid ground has been washed away. Bulvarhythe harbour has been filled up. At Hastings a quantity of ground not above high-water mark has been washed away. One harbour has been filled up and another has disappeared. We know nothing of the high cliff to the east of Hastings. Romney marsh, west of the Rhee Wall running from Appledore to Romney, was not formed, except probably a little marsh in the inlets. We do not know whether the north-eastern part of the marsh was enclosed before the Romans were here. At any rate, there was an inlet up to Hythe and Lympne. We do not

know about the chalk cliffs by Folkestone and Dover, and on to Kingsdown. Where Dover now stands was under water, and the harbour ran a mile inland. There was water where Walmer and Deal now stand, and from there on to Sandwich the coast line was a mile or two further back than now. Hardly any marsh was formed in the estuary between Kent and the Isle of Thanet. There was some marsh in the inlets of the Stour and Little Stour. There was no marsh between the Isle and Sheppey and Kent, 4 miles. The north-east part of the island has been washed away since that time. There were possibly no marshes in the Thames below Gravesend.

Think what a splendid place the coast of Kent and Sussex would have been for a summer holiday in Cæsar's time. Bays, inlets, and harbours studded with islands, and headlands running out boldly into the sea. Now the headlands have been partly washed away by the sea, and every indentation in the coast has been filled up with mud and stones.

We can now understand the statement in Chapter IV., which was not intelligible at first sight.

Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. ii.—But there is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe; for at full sea they appear to be islands, but

at low water, for a long time, they look like so many peninsulas.

In the time of Diodorus and Cæsar the levels must have only been partly formed, so that their surface was above low-water mark and below high-water mark. The following islands may have answered to the description in their time.

In the estuary of the Ouse, a little below Lewes, are two, on which stand, according to the Ordnance map, Rise Farm and Rise Barn. They rise gradually from the edge to the centre like a whale's back, and each is about half a mile long and rises above the 50-feet contour. In Pevensey marsh are the island upon which Pevensey stands, about half a mile long, and Hydney, and Northey, and some smaller ones, mostly whale-backed. To the west of Pevensey is an irregular piece of ground 3 miles long in the marsh. I have not found out whether this is an island, or is connected with the mainland at its west end. An island has been described off Hastings, but that was probably only a shingle bank, left when the river changed its course. At the west end of Romney Marsh, near Cliff End, is a small island which stands up steep from the marsh to a considerable height. Winchelsea is not a natural island. It was made one by an artificial cut at the south end. Then we come to Rye, Oxney, Appledore, and one a

little further north. In the estuary of the Stour we come to one to the south-east of Sandwich, and Richborough. There is one to the south of Sheppey. These are not all shown in my map, being too small.

CHAPTER VII

RUTUPLÆ

THIS chapter was first read as a paper at the Canterbury Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1896, and appeared in the *Archæological Journal* of September 1896, p. 204. In consequence of this, several statements will be found here which are also in other chapters. For the same reason I have translated the Latin passages. The map now given is on a larger scale than the one which appeared before. A postscript has been added.

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the generally received opinion that Richborough Castle is the remains of the Roman military station Rutupiaë. It would therefore be a waste of time to discuss that point. There are, however, two other questions not yet settled, and which, as far as I can ascertain, have never been discussed. They are—Where was the harbour of Rutupiaë?

and, How is it that there is no road from Canterbury to Richborough Castle? Richborough Castle is several miles from the sea. The principal road in those parts is the one from Canterbury to Sandwich, and a small road branches out at right angles to it and goes to Richborough Castle.

In order to work out these questions I have been to Richborough Castle, Sandwich, and the neighbourhood, and have examined the country as far as Dover, and the road from Dover towards Canterbury for a few miles.

Rutupiæ is mentioned in the following places in the classics. The quotations are arranged in chronological order as far as possible.

Lucan, A.D. 65, *Pharsaliæ*, lib. vi. v. 64, poetry—
 “Rutupinaque littora fervent.”

Ptolemy, A.D. 160, lib. ii. cap. iii.—

“Post quos maximi orientales Cantii, in quibus urbes Londinium, Daruernium, Rutupiæ.”

Antoninus, A.D. 300, *Itinerary*—

“Iter Britanniarum.

“A Gessoriacō de Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero CCCCL.”

“A vallo ad Portum Ritupis.”

“Ad Portum Ritupis.”

Ausonius, A.D. 350, poetry—

“Rhutupinum latronem.”

“Rhutupinus ager.”

“Tellus quem Rhutupina tegit.”

Ammianus Marcellinus, A.D. 375, lib. ii. cap. i.—

“Ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur.”

Lib. xxvii., cap. viii.—

“Defertur Rutupias stationem ex adverso.”

Peutinger's Tables, A.D. 399, segment i.—

“Ratupis.”

Orosius, A.D. 417, lib. i. cap. ii. par. 17.—

“Quæ dicitur Rhutupi portus.”

Notitia Imperii Romani, A.D. 425.—

“Rittubis.”

“Rutupis.”

The spelling varies very much, and, what is more important, the name varies. Sometimes it is Rutupiæ, sometimes the harbour of Rutupiæ, and once the military station Rutupiæ. I avoid the use of the word “port,” because that is used sometimes for “harbour,” sometimes for “town.” The variation in the name seems to suggest that the military station and the harbour were not close together. In addition to the quotation given about the military station, we know from the *Notitia Imperii Romani* that a legion was quartered here.

In order to make my case clear, it is necessary to examine the principal roads in this part of the country, and to show what changes have taken place in the coast for some distance on each side of Richborough Castle.

Antoninus, in his *Itinerary*, makes the road from London divide into three at Durovernum, now Canterbury, and go—

“Ad Portum Ritupis XII m.p.
 Ad Portum Dubris XIII m.p.
 Ad Portum Lemanis XVI m.p.”

His distances, as usual, are not very exact. These roads may be seen on the one-inch Ordnance map, leading, roughly speaking, to Sandwich, Dover, and Lympne.

To begin with the last of the three, it runs from Canterbury a little to the west of south. It is very straight, and is marked on the Ordnance map as a Roman road. It points to Lympne, but does not go quite so far. The Canterbury end of it is also missing. As the Portus Lemanis has ceased to exist, the road is very little used and partly obliterated. The sea formerly ran up between Romney marsh and the solid ground of Kent, as Camden tells us in his *Britannia*, 1607, translation by Gibson, 1753, column 255:—

Hith	“At four miles distant, is Hith, one of the
or	Cinque Ports, from whence it had that name
Hide.	hið in Saxon signifying a port or station, though
	at present it can hardly answer the name, by
	reason of the sands heaped in there, which
	have shut out the sea at a great distance from
	it. Nor is it very long since its first rise,
West-Hythe.	dating from the decay of West-hythe; which
[said in 1607.]	is a little town hard by to the west, and was a
	harbour till in the memory of our grandfathers
	the sea retired from it. But both Hythe and
Portus	West-hythe owe their original to Lime, a little
Lemanis.	village adjoining, and formerly a very famous

port before it was shut up with sands cast in by the sea."

At the point beyond Lympne, where this road formerly reached the coast, are the remains of a Roman fortification now known as Stutfall Castle.

The second road, from Canterbury to Dover, is not very straight. There are several turns in it near Dover. There are straight pieces nearer Canterbury, but on the whole it is not so straight as a Roman road ought to be. It is not like the one from Canterbury to Lympne, or the one to be described later. The Romans may have used and improved the road made by the Britons. We know that the Britons did make roads, because Cæsar tells us in his *De Bello Gallico*, lib. v. cap. xix. :—

"Omnibus viis notis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat."

"He sent his chariot soldiers out of the woods by all known ways and lanes,—or, by highways and bye-ways."

Dover at the time of the Romans was different from the present town. The present harbour, and nearly all the ground in front of the cliff, are the result of works begun in Henry VIII.'s time. Shortly before that, there was sea between the two cliffs; and Leland, writing at the same time, says that cables and anchors have been dug up in the ground between the hills. The old harbour is said

to have been silted up in the time of the Saxons, but something of it remained in the time of Domesday Book. In the time of the Romans the sea is supposed to have run a mile up the valley.

The third road from Canterbury, towards Sandwich, is a good road, but not straight. It may have been a British road improved by the Romans. It cannot have run to Sandwich in Roman times. Montagu Burrows, in his *Cinque Ports*, 1888, p. 30, says :—

“Sandwich and Stonar were wholly English. No Roman remains have been found at either.”

It will be shown that Sandwich is not mentioned till more than 200 years after the Romans left, and that there is good reason to suppose that the land upon which it stands and the land over which the Sandwich end of the road runs were not formed when the Romans were here.

The last mention of Rutupiæ in history is by the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, written in 736 ; that is, 300 years after the departure of the Romans. He is partly copying from Orosius, but appears to know the town that he is writing about. In book i. chapter i. par. 4 he says :—

“Habet a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cujus proximum litus transmeantibus aperit civitas quæ dicitur Rutupi Portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacaestir vocata.”

“Rutupi Portus, now corruptly called Reptacaestir by the Angles, is the nearest port to France.”

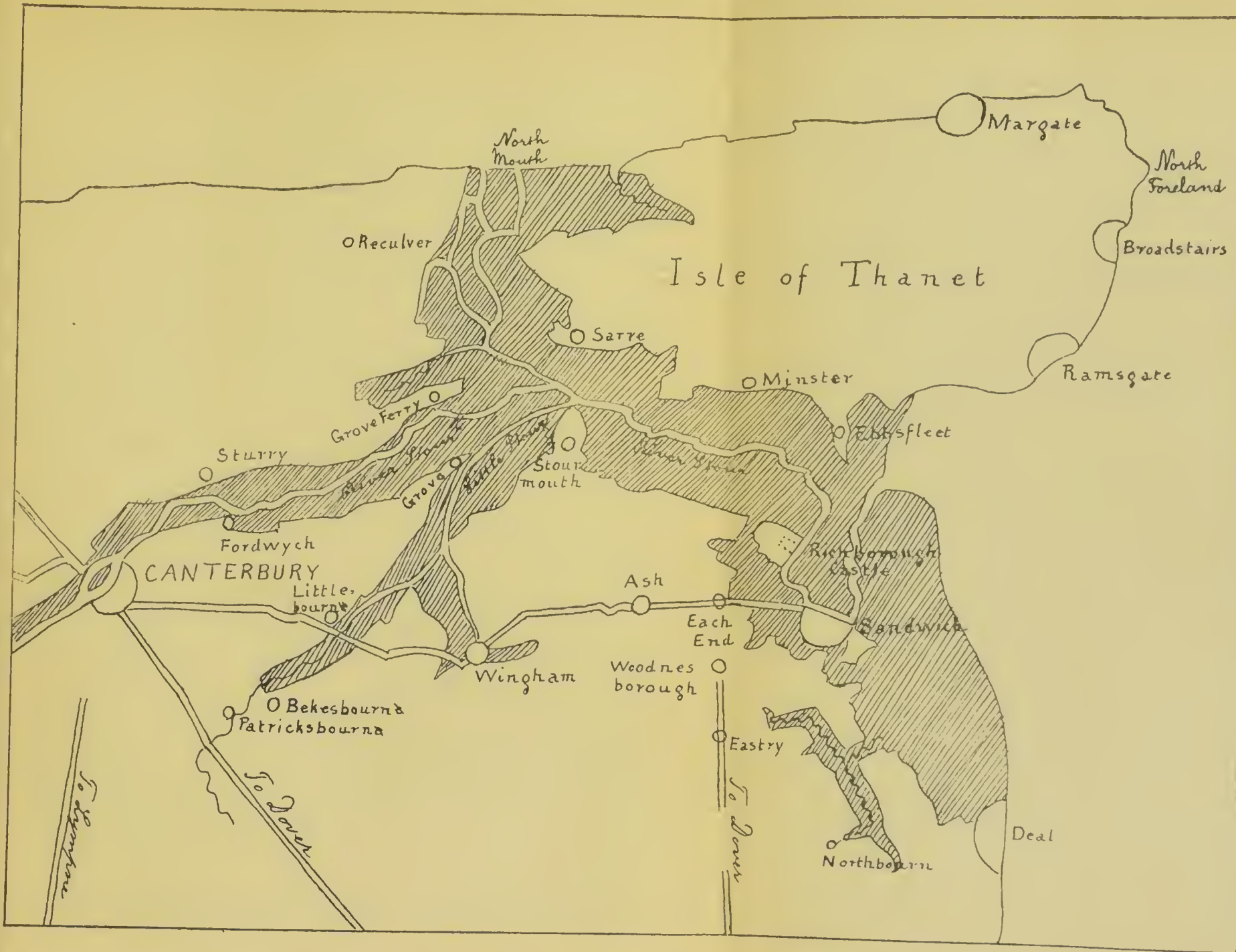
King Alfred, in his version of Orosius, written about 900, gives part of the sentence in which the above quotation occurs, but omits the part about Rutupiæ.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, after the arrival of the Saxons, does not mention Rutupiæ, but often mentions Sandwich.

Since the time of the Romans great changes have taken place on the coasts of Kent and Sussex. The western half of Romney marsh has been formed. The strait between the Isle of Thanet and Kent has been filled up. The Isle of Sheppey, which in the time of the Saxons was described as in the Thames, between Essex and Kent but nearer to Kent, is now only separated from Kent by a small stream, and is several miles from Essex. Many harbours have been filled up. No information is available about what land has been washed away. It is the forming of the land between the Isle of Thanet and Kent that most concerns us here.

The one-inch Ordnance maps of the first edition give important information, which is not to be found in those lately issued. In the earlier ones, marsh formed by the deposit of mud and shingle banks are marked in a different way from solid ground. This shows what parts are now dry land

RUTUPIÆ.



0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 miles.

which were under water at no very distant time. In Sussex these places are called levels, as Pett Level, Pevensey Level, and the levels at Brighton. It is a very useful word, because it is often not possible, by looking at the surface, to see whether there is marsh or shingle underneath. For my purpose it is immaterial which it is. The map shows these levels hatched. It is taken from the Ordnance map, with some slight corrections near Sandwich from my own observations.

Solinus, who wrote about the year 238, says in his *Polyhistor.*, chapter xxv. :—

“Thanatos insula alluitur freto Gallico; a Britanniae continente æstuario tenui separata,”

which may be translated into English thus—

“The Isle of Thanet is situated in the Straits of Dover, and is separated from the mainland of Britain by a narrow strait.”

Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, written about 736, says in book i. chapter xxiv. :—

“Est autem ad orientalem Cantiae plagum Tanatos insula non modica, id est magnitudinis, juxta consuetudinem æstimationis Anglorum, familiarum sexcentarum, quam a continenti terra secernit fluvius Vantsumu, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum et duobus tantum in locis est transmeabilis, utrumque enim caput protendit in mare,”

meaning—

“The Isle of Thanet is separated from Kent by the river Wantsome, which is about three furlongs wide, and can be crossed only in two places.”

By “transmeabilis” he probably means fordable, as, of course, it could be crossed anywhere.

After this the strait was filled up by degrees, until, in the time of Henry VII., a bridge was built over it at Sarre, on the road from Canterbury to Ramsgate. Montagu Burrows, in his *Cinque Ports*, page 245, says :—

“Sarre. In 1485 we find from the Rolls of Parliament that a bridge was permitted to take the place of the ferry, which was so ‘swathed, growen and hyged with wose mudde and sand that no fery or other passage may be there.’”

Possibly this bridge was not built till later, or it may have been a drawbridge, for John Twine wrote, 105 years later, in 1590, in his *De Rebus Albionicis*, page 25 :—

“Thanatos enim nostro fere ævo, ex insula facta est peninsula sive Chersonesus, superantibus adhuc octo fide dignis viris, qui non modo cymbas minutiores, verum etiam grandiores naviculas, onerariasque measse et remeasse inter insulam et nostram continentem, frequente navigatione vidisse se aiunt.”

“Thanet was almost in our time changed from an island into a peninsula, as eight reliable men now living affirm, who have seen not only small vessels, but large merchant ships, pass and re-pass between the island and the mainland.”

Reasoning backward, if the bridge was authorised in 1485, and the strait was 3 furlongs wide in 736, we may conclude that at the time the Romans were here, from 43 to 436, the strait was considerably more than 3 furlongs wide. The width of

the level is in one place rather less than a mile. In most places it is between 1 and 2 miles wide. Fortunately, we have evidence of the width of the strait in the time of the Romans. Boys, in his *History of Sandwich*, 1792, page 865, writes:—

“The extensive tract of marsh land lying between Thanet and Walmer, and extending from the shore to Canterbury, was formerly the bed of the Portus Rutupinus, and in all probability was covered with the sea at the time the Romans were in this country. A strong presumptive proof of this is, that no remains whatever of that people occur anywhere throughout this flat district, whereas we meet with coins and other Roman matters the moment we ascend the rising borders of the marsh.”

E. Hasted, in his *History of Kent*, 1778–99, vol. iii. page 386, note *b*, writes:—

“Richborough. This tract of land is supposed to have been an island, in the antient state of the country, and it is at this time cut off from Guston by a narrow slip of marsh, across which, even now, in wet times, the water flows, inso-much that people passing along from Ash to Richborough are obliged to pass through it.”

Except the passage quoted from Bede, no mention can be found of a harbour at Rutupia or Richborough after the time of the Romans. The statement by Gocelinus in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, that St Augustine landed at Richborough in 597, is not considered reliable. No earlier histories mention the place where he landed.

The harbour which took the place of Rutupiæ was Sandwich. The first reliable mention that we have of this place is in the *Life of St Wilfrid*, by Eddi, chapter xiii., written in 711. The event recorded was in 666 :—

“Gloriose autem a Deo honorificati, gratias Ei agentes, vento flante ab Africo, prospere in portum Sandwicie salutis pervenerunt.”

“With the help of God, and giving thanks to Him, they arrived safely at the harbour of Sandwich with a south-west wind.”

In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, between the years 851 and 1066 Sandwich is often mentioned. Large fleets sometimes lay in the harbour. The only other harbour on that coast capable of containing a fleet appears to have been Pevensey. Sandwich and the four other Cinque Ports received a charter from Edward the Confessor about 1050. Other ports were added from time to time. They were bound to furnish the king with ships and men for a short time every year, and in return had certain immunities. The original number of ships that they were bound to furnish was fifty-seven. The numbers varied from time to time, but they continued to furnish a large number down to the time of Queen Elizabeth. Hastings alone supplied twenty ships to oppose the Spanish Armada. In 1626 the Ports made their last contribution—only

two ships, on the demand of Charles I. By that time the harbours had been nearly filled up by deposits from sea or river. Sir Walter Raleigh, writing to Queen Elizabeth, *A Discourse of the Sea ports, principally of the Port and Haven of Dover*, says:—

“ Henry the 8th in his time when Sandwich, Rye, Camber and others were good havens (these havens being now extreamly decayed) no safe Harbour being left in all the Coast almost between Portsmouth and Yarmouth.”

Sandwich harbour has disappeared. The town is apparently built upon the level. There are marsh and ditches inside the wall. I have not been able to find any part of the town which is decidedly above the level, though of course in a town of that age some streets are a little higher than others. The site of the wall is now shown by a raised walk. Outside the wall to the south-east is some ground a little above the level, which must formerly have been an island. The railway passes through it in a cutting. I have not found any book or map which shows upon which side of the town the harbour was. I inquired at Sandwich and was told that there was no old map there. The town is almost in the shape of a semicircle, the straight side facing north-east, and along this side the river Stour runs. It is surrounded by a

wall except on the north-east, so that the harbour was probably on that side when the wall was built, in the time of Edward IV.

The original Cinque Ports were Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich. These, with the two ancient towns Rye and Winchelsea, which were added shortly afterwards, were called the Head Ports. All their harbours are gone. Hastings had two: one is filled up and used as a cricket ground, the other cannot be found. The first Winchelsea was washed away by the sea, the second was left high and dry by the retiring of the sea. Rye is on a river some miles from the sea. Romney is half a mile from the shore. Hythe is a mile inland. Dover old harbour is filled up, and the entrance to it is half a mile from the sea. Sandwich is on a river 4 miles from its mouth. It is no wonder that there is difficulty in finding the more ancient harbour of Rutupiaë.

Taking into consideration all the changes in the coast that have been mentioned, and the width of the strait given by Bede, and the building of the bridge, there is every reason to suppose that the whole or nearly the whole of the level between the Isle of Thanet and Kent shown in my map was not formed in the time of the Romans, and that its place was occupied by water. This would leave the military station Rutupiaë upon an island

on the north side of the entrance to a harbour a mile and a half long by a mile wide. It may seem awkward to us to have a military station upon an island. It was probably placed there for safety. On this coast there were several towns or villages upon places that were islands before the level was formed—Pevensey, Hydney, Northeye, the first Winchelsea, Rye, Appledore. Going further off, we find Cadiz, Venice, Tyre.

We now see why the road could not run to the military station at Richborough Castle. It could only run to the harbour, “ad Portum Ritupis,” as said in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. We do not know what reason there was for reaching the harbour at the particular place where it does—the little village of Each End. It may have been made by the Britons in time of peace, and the island may have had nothing to do with it. It keeps along the high ground as much as possible.

There is another reason for supposing that Each End was at the end of the road, and the place where the boats left the mainland for the island. Richard of Cirencester wrote, or might have written, his *De Situ Britanniae* in 1400. It is the opinion of many competent persons that this is a forgery compiled by Bertram, by whom it was published in 1757. It is thought to have been partly taken from Camden and other writers later

than Richard. The part about to be referred to does not appear to be taken from these writers, and it does not seem to matter much whether we connect it with the name of Bertram or Richard. Both were so far away from the time of the Romans that they had to gain their information from writings, and not from tradition. The part in question is an *Itinerary* in the style of Antoninus, but not a copy from his. Even if the whole thing is spurious, it is useful, because it calls our attention to a fact. In *Iter. XV.* a road is mentioned from Dover to Rhutupis colonia, 10 Roman miles. Antoninus does not mention this road. It is marked on the Ordnance map as a Roman road, and if complete would run from Dover to Each End, not to Richborough Castle or Sandwich. I have walked over the greater part of this road. Up the steep hill from Dover I could find no straight road. From the top of the hill, a mile from Dover, it appears to have run in a straight line to Woodnesborough. The last mile, from that place to Each End, is missing. At the Dover end for nearly 2 miles it is straight, with only one deviation round a farm, and it is hardly wide enough for a cart, and much overgrown. Further on there are more breaks, but the road soon comes back again into the old line. It runs almost due north and south. Nearly all the other

roads in this part run north-east and south-west, or north-west and south-east, in consequence of the lie of the ground. The road is not wanted for modern traffic, and appears to have no object at its north end. Richard of Cirencester says that it goes to the colony of Rhutupis, by which he may be understood to mean the mercantile settlement as distinguished from the military station upon the island. This is the only place in which I have found the word "colony" used in connection with Rutupiæ. The road is said to be 10 Roman miles. From Dover to Each End is 11 Roman miles, and Richborough Castle is a mile and a half further, and not in a straight line. Not much reliance can be placed upon this, because the distances in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus are not exact, and there is no reason to suppose that this one is more correct.

We will now go back to the question which was passed over before—why we should think that the roads from Canterbury to Dover and to Each End are the same as those used by the Romans. It was shown that the two unimportant roads, from Canterbury to the Portus Lemanis and from Dover to Each End, remain in great part to the present day. It is therefore next to impossible that the two more important roads, from Canterbury to Dover and to Each End, can have been

quite obliterated. The harbours they led to were used in the time of the Romans, and, with slight change of position, have been used ever since, or at any rate to the time of Elizabeth. There may have been some deviations from the old roads. The road from Canterbury starts straight for Each End, and the road from Each End starts straight for Canterbury. In the middle there is a deviation to the south to avoid the two branches of the Little Stour. Originally the road may have run across the marsh and over two bridges. In the troubled times after the Romans the bridges may have been allowed to get out of repair, and the traffic may have been diverted to the higher ground where the present road runs.

In the 400 years that the Romans were here the sea probably receded considerably, but the newly-formed land would not be good enough for building on. A little to the east of Each End a tumulus or small island rises out of the level. It is 80 yards to the west of the sixty-seventh milestone, and about half that distance to the south of the road. If it is a tumulus, and the date of its erection can be ascertained, it may throw some light upon the date of the formation of the level in that place.

In *Archæologia*, 1888, vol. li. part ii. p. 449,

“Archæological Survey of Kent,” is the following passage :—

“The Kent Archæological Society, during the autumn of the past year, caused the land to the north and west of the castrum at Richborough to be excavated, under the supervision of Mr Dowker and a committee, but the results were disappointing, and proved that the site of the vicus and cemetery must be looked for in another direction.”

The Kent Archæological Society having failed in their attempt to discover the town of Rutupiæ just outside the walls of Richborough Castle, search should be made for it at Each End.

PS.—Since the above appeared in the *Archæological Journal* the following has been found :—

The Archæological Journal, vol. xxxiii., 1876, “Cæsar’s Landing-place in Britain,” by G[eorge] Dowker, Esq., F.G.S.

P. 56.—“I may perhaps be allowed, as a geologist, to put in a plea, knowing intimately the geological and physical features of Kent, and having studied the subject of the changes in its course since the event in question. I can lay no claim to classical knowledge, and on that ground I could not demand attention.”

P. 58.—“Deal is situate on a bank of recent beach which during many years has been accumulating round the point of Kingsdown cliff, and is even now travelling eastwards towards Sandown Castle. Beyond this point the shore is composed of sand, and is so level that the distance between the two tide marks is very great. . . . The marsh land through which it [the Stour] flows is about three-quarters of a mile wide at Stourmouth, and from a mile and a half to two miles at Richborough. Towards the centre of this marsh the soil is composed of recent alluvial mud to the depth of twenty or thirty feet, shallowing on either side

towards the older formations. . . . The land composing the marsh is formed by the mud deposited for centuries on each overflow of the river. We have no evidence of any change of level in the land since Roman times, save that occasioned by the silting up of an old channel."

P. 59.—"The present town of Deal is situated on a comparatively recent beach. I have evidence of the beach at the back of Deal containing mediæval remains. It is certain that when the sea swept the Stonar beach, Deal had no existence."

Dowker gives two good maps, one of the marsh between the Isle of Thanet and Kent, almost exactly the same as the map in this chapter. In some places he does not carry the marsh quite so far. He gives a road from Each End to Richborough Castle, of which I have found no trace on the ground or in maps.

In the first page of the paper, where a list is given of the places where Rutupiæ was mentioned, the following was omitted :—

Juvenal, A.D. 100.—*Satirarum libri quinque*, sat. 4, line 139.—

"Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea."

CHAPTER VIII

THE RIVER STOUR

IN the last chapter it was shown that the estuary which in Cæsar's time lay between Kent and the Isle of Thanet was by degrees reduced to the river Stour. We will now turn to the higher part of that river and attempt to find out how far up it was salt in Cæsar's time and where it was fordable. When there was a broad sheet of water between Kent and the Isle of Thanet, rising and falling with every tide, the salt water would have very little difficulty in finding its way up the valleys of the Stour and the Little Stour for some distance. The map shows that there is marsh in the valley of the Stour above Canterbury, a long way above the level of the sea. This must have been formed by the river alone. As stated in the last chapter, the mud in the marsh between Kent and the Isle of Thanet is river mud. This must have been deposited where the river was stopped by the sea.

The whole of the mud in this strait is very nearly at the same level.

Fordwich on the Stour, 2 miles below Canterbury, was for a long time the port of Canterbury, and the highest place where the river was navigable for lighters or barges. This first mention of Fordwych in 747 is just before Bede's time.

Antiquities of Canterbury, by William Somner, 1640; 2nd edition, by Nicholas Battely, 1703. Appendix, p. 36, numb. xxxvi., Anno Domini Dccxlvij.—Eadbertus Rex Kancie dedit Ecclesie de Reculvere, tempore Bregwini Archeopiscopi tributum unius navis in villa de Fordwic.

Dr J. Brigstocke Sheppard, to whom I was referred as the best local authority on the antiquities of these parts, wrote to me as follows in 1893:—

All through the middle ages Fordwych was the port of Canterbury at which Christchurch and St Augustine's landed their stone for building and wine for drinking.

History, etc. of the County of Kent, by Edward Hasted, 1778–99, vol. 3, p. 605.—Fordwych. The river Stour is navigable for lighters and barges as far as the bridge just above the town.

The Stranger's, etc. Guide to Canterbury, by an Inhabitant, Canterbury [no date, 1829 or later], p. 60.—River Stour. Numerous attempts have been made to make it navigable, towards which object large sums have from time to time been collected, aided also by private benefactions; shares to the amount of £85,000 were taken up, but the difficulties to be overcome, and the introduction of the Railway Company, caused all attempts to fail. Barges laden with coals, etc. do however find their way occasionally up as high as Fordwich, which is as far as they can approach, their further progress

being stopped by the mills on the stream, of which there were many more than there are at present; they are still, however, pretty numerous, being two at Sturry, four at Canterbury, and many more beyond.

History, etc. of the County of Kent, by Edward Hasted, 1778-99, p. 614, note.—There appears to have been an ancient bridge over the river here, belonging to the Abbat of Augustine, for there were two patents passed for the repair of the bridge at Sturrey anno 2^{do} Edward II.

Sturry is opposite Fordwych, on the north side of the river. Sturry is built upon marsh, formerly an island; Fordwych upon solid ground.

Antiquities of Canterbury, by William Somner, 1640; 2nd edition, by Nicholas Battely, 1703, p. 21.—About the beginning of Henry 8 reign it was projected to have made that part of the river between Fordwich and Canterbury, answerable to Fordwich River, that is, that lighters and boats might be brought to both alike.

P. 23.—Note by Nicholas Battely, 1703.—[Of late this river has been so cleansed and deepned, that Lighters and Boats come now up to the City laden with Coals, Stones, and other Wares from Sandwich.—N. B.]

P. 23.—I have no more to say of our river in this place, only a word or two of the Mills standing by or upon it, in and about the City, which are now but few in number, only five, (1) King's-Mill, (2) Abbat's-Mill, (3) Westgate-Mill, (4) Shafford's-Mill, (5) Barton-Mill; whereas about King Stephen's time, I find (*Liber Ecclesiæ Cant*) that besides these mills, were seven other standing all upon this river, in or not far from the City.

Appendix, p. 5, numb. viia. King Stephen's Grant of the Mill called King's-Mill to the Church of St Augustine. Stephanus Rex Angliæ Archiepisc. Episc. Abbatibus & salutem. Sciatis quod pro salute animæ meæ, etc., dedi et concessi Deo

et Ecclesiæ S. Augustini Molendinum, quod habui infra Civitatem Cantuar juxta Eastbrigge, et totum cursum aquæ illius Molendini in restaurationem vadimonii centum marcarum.

History of the County of Kent, by Alfred John Dunkin, 1856, p. 189.—An anchor of a ship was found at Broomsdown, near Thanington and Bigberry, some two miles above the city.

“Canterbury till Doomsday,” by T. G. Godfrey-Faussett, F.S.A., *The Archaeological Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1875, vol. xxxii. p. 368.—To anyone looking down from the higher ground which flanks Canterbury on either side, it needs no antiquarian eye to perceive that most of the site of the present city has only gradually emerged from the bed of the river, and once formed part of the great tidal estuary which (as we know indeed from the anchor found in the marshes at Chilham, and indeed from the very aspect of the marshes themselves) flowed up this valley several miles higher than the spot where now stands Canterbury. He would notice also the wider flatness of the valley, just at this point implying less original depth of water and greater adaptability for a ford; and this, without doubt, it was that first gave importance to the situation. The principal British road which led down to it may still be traced, from the corresponding ford in the lesser Stour at Patricksbourne, but now mostly used as an occupation way only. That this old line of road, clearly of immense age from its hollowness on the hillsides, is of British origin, is evident enough from its course so near and so parallel to a Roman road upon either side of it, after the date of which a third would never have been constructed. As it approaches Canterbury, this road is now lost. It ran through the land of Barton or home farm of St Augustine’s Abbey, and naturally fell under powerful ban of the monks; but its original direction to a ford at this spot is unmistakable. Having crossed to the farther or north-western side of the estuary, it would join the great British Road to the

West, now known as the Pilgrims' Way; while the deep old track towards the coast at Seasalter and Whitstable, which runs by the side of the present road up St Thomas's Hill, was in all likelihood its direct communication Northwards. . . . The only remains, however, of the British period which exist, or are known to have existed, here, are the remarkable conical mounds, one of which, called the "Dane-John or Dungeon Hill" (A), stands within the walls of the present city, having in its immediate neighbourhood, on the outside of the walls, another similar but smaller mound (B), and having had, till the building of the Chatham and Dover Station a few years ago, another (C), nearer to its own size, and about equidistant.

Godfrey-Faussett gives plans of the city at various times. The Roman city was entirely on the south-east side of the river. The Saxon city contained the whole of the Roman city and part of the island between the two branches of the river. It seems very doubtful whether the story about the anchor is true. At the place where it is said to have been found, the surface of the river is 30 feet above high-water mark. It is not stated that it was a Roman anchor. In answer to a letter from me on the subject, Dr Sheppard wrote to me as follows :—

Dr J. Brigstocke Sheppard, Canterbury, 1894. —Dear Sir,—There must be some mistake in your recollection. *I* have never asserted that an anchor was found at Chilham. That you found it in print I have no doubt. It is just the piece of rubbish which local historians copy out of the provincial papers during the "Gooseberry season." For your own credit please do not commit yourself to a repetition of the statement.

Cæsar in Kent, by Rev. Francis Thomas Vine, 1887, p. 163.
—In marching from the coast, especially at night, Cæsar would not strike out into open country, but would follow the course of the ancient British road, probably that which may still be traced, and which tradition refers to an earlier period, from the Strand at Deal, passing through Upper Deal, Knowlton, Goodneston, and Adisham.

This road is a continuation of that mentioned by Godfrey-Faussett, from Canterbury to Patricksbourn. It is the shortest way from Deal to Canterbury, and is fairly straight, and for the greater part a good road.

History, then, does not show any change in the depth of the river at Fordwych and just above that place from the earliest Saxon times to the beginning of the present century. I have no report later than 1829. Fordwych always has been the port of Canterbury, and barges have never gone up beyond that port except for a short time mentioned by Battely in 1703. That alteration was altogether artificial, and was unsuccessful. We are not told whether there were locks. It is remarkable that there has been no change at Fordwych, because in Saxon times it was only 5 miles from the sea in estuary between Kent and the Isle of Thanet, and now it is 18 miles from the sea, measured along the course of the Stour.

We will now inquire whether the height of the marsh, through which the river runs, above the

level of the sea helps us to decide the possibility of barges going up to Canterbury. Ordnance datum or starting-point is the mean height of the sea at Liverpool. The number of feet the tide rises and falls varies considerably at different places. In the six-inch Ordnance map the marsh between Kent and the Isle of Thanet is marked several places 8 feet above Ordnance datum. We may take it that this is the greatest height at which the sea can form marsh in these parts by stopping the river, and that any marsh above this level must have been formed by the river alone. The marsh above Grove and Grove Ferry, near where the Stour formerly ran into the estuary, is marked 8 feet. The next figure just above Fordwych and Sturry is 15. A little further up we come to 19 and 21. A little below Canterbury 22 and 28, and just above Canterbury 30 and 35. At Chartham $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, above Canterbury 50. The sea can hardly have helped to form any marsh above Fordwych, and it is unreasonable to suppose that the surface of the river was 20 feet lower at Canterbury in Cæsar's time than it is now, and that the mud brought down by the river has raised the ground 20 feet.

Archæologia, vol. xliii., London, 181.—Discoveries made during excavations at Canterbury in 1868, by James Pilbrow, F.S.A., p. 152. I may here remark that the original level of the road and streets, such as may be supposed from the

quality and materials to be Roman, was found to be from 6 to 9 feet below the present surface according to locality.

Now as to crossing-places. It will generally be found that broad places in rivers are shallow and narrow places deep. The river at Canterbury is broader than it is above or below, an island having actually been formed in the middle of it because there was not water enough to fill so large a bed. The flow of the river here was so slow that more mud was deposited. The valley is broader here than above or below, and the hills less steep. It looks a likely place for a ford. The way crossing-places come to be established is this. First the natives find the most convenient place for fording a river. This becomes known round about, and tracks are by degrees made to it. These tracks by degrees become roads, and a ferry takes the place of the ford. Later, as the traffic still increases, a bridge is built. The existence of the road fixes the place for the bridge. It would be foolish to build a bridge where there was no road. Consequently, where we find a bridge over a river of moderate size, we may conclude that there was a ford in earlier times. We have no information as to when the first bridge at Canterbury was built, or when the ferry was established.

We learn from the *Itinerary* of Antoninus that the three roads from the coast—from Rutupiaë,

from Dubris, and from the Portus Lemanis—joined at Canterbury and formed the road to London, afterwards called Watling Street. The old British road coming from the west also crossed at Canterbury. There is no such collection of roads anywhere else in these parts. At Fordwych there are two small roads running south and one small road running north. There was nothing to go to north of Fordwych, and it was not in such a good position as Canterbury for the three roads to cross on the way west. It is not so clear why the three roads, or at least that from Portus Lemanis, should not have crossed higher up the river. There are 13 bridges in 15 miles above Canterbury, not counting the railway, but there is no important road crossing. The steepness of the hills may have prevented any large roads being formed.

We now come to the Little Stour. The only village upon this stream which has any history is Beakesbourne, which is 7 miles above where the Little Stour runs into the Stour. I give two extracts about this place, but I cannot agree with the conclusions arrived at in them.

History of the Town and Port of Dover, by Rev. J. Lyon, 1813, vol. ii. p. 9.—The fruitful valley, in which we now find the villages of Littlebourne, Beakesbourne, and Bridge, at the time of Julius Cæsar's expeditions, was a considerable branch of the large estuary leading through the central vale from Rutupiaë to Ashford. In the reign of Edward the

Third this branch had a sufficient depth of water to float one of their ships of war. He granted the privileges of the Cinque Ports to the inhabitants of Beakesbourne, by a special writ for providing him a ship. Richard of Beches held lands by grand sergeantry, for furnishing Henry the Third with a ship every time he crossed the sea.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 243.—Bekesbourn. How this inland Kentish village, which Sandwich or Dover might more naturally claim, came to be a member of Hastings in Sussex has never been explained. Its "bourne" communicated with the Stour, and some of its land was held by the tenure of supplying the Norman and Angevin kings with a "snecca" (our "smack") or yacht, drawing but little water, and therefore suitable for the little stream. In the thirteenth century it seems to have provided one ship towards the Hastings contingent, and took rank with Petit Iham in its diminutive share of the "Purse."

The six-inch Ordnance map does not show the level of the marsh itself of the Little Stour, but it gives measurements which are enough for our purpose. A road across the marsh between Wickham Breux and Ickham is marked 22, and a road at Littlebourne 39. At Beakesbourn the stream is above 50 feet contour. The sea cannot have been as high as this in Cæsar's time, and it is not likely that it was as high as the marsh at Wickham Breux. I am taking it for granted that there was no sudden subsidence of the land just after that time. Geology tells us of no such fall.

I conclude that in Cæsar's time the sea, or at any rate the tide, went up to Fordwych, and that

tide possibly went a little higher, but certainly not up to Canterbury. On the Little Stour the tide did not go up to Littlebourn, which is the lowest place where the river could be crossed on the way from Deal or Sandwich to Canterbury. Consequently, there would be fresh water at Canterbury and in the Little Stour where it would be crossed on the way from the coast. The easiest place to reach the Stour from the coast is at Canterbury, and that is also a good crossing-place.

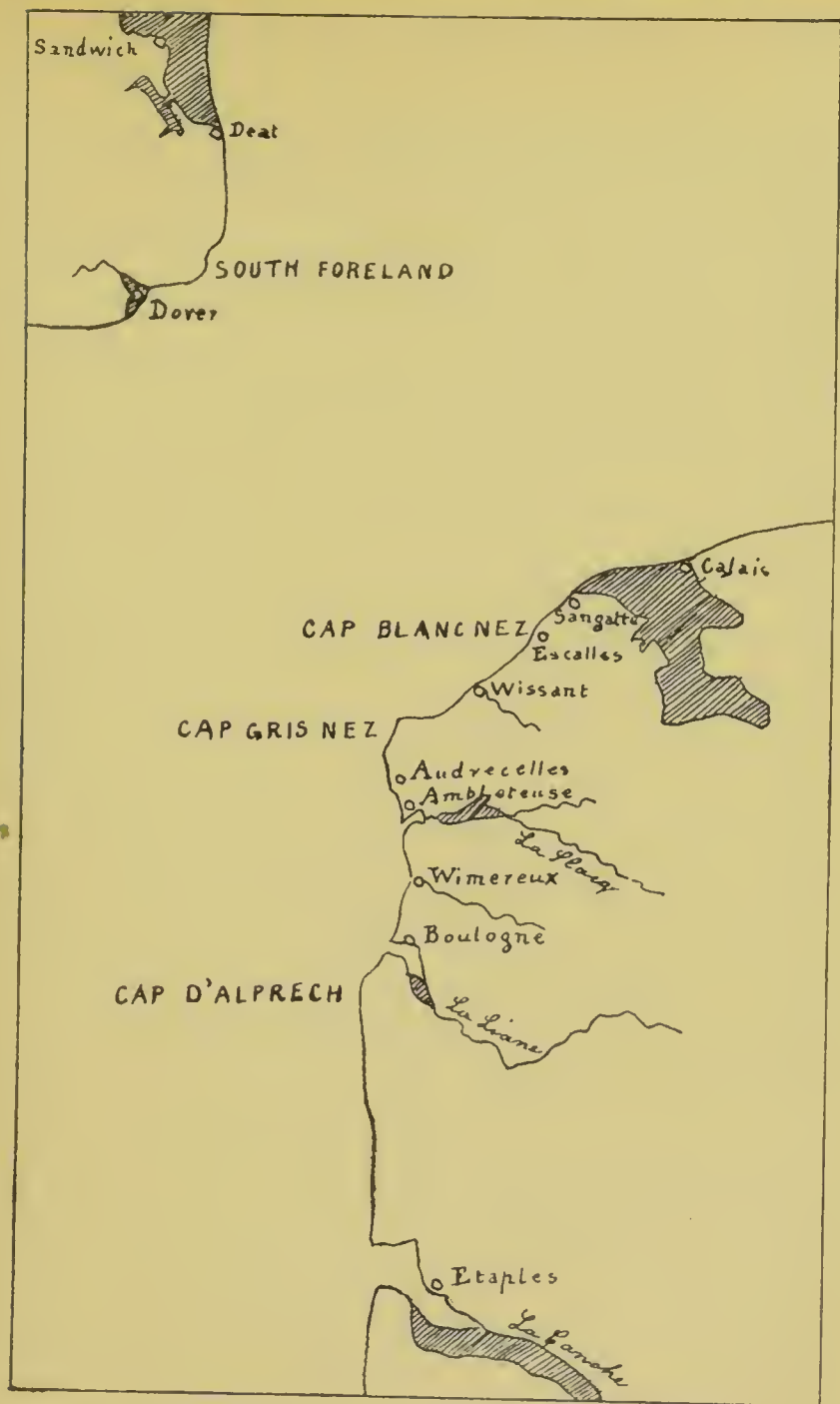
CHAPTER IX

THE COAST OF FRANCE, AND CÆSAR'S STARTING-POINTS

THE examination of the French coast in this chapter will not be as thorough as that of the English coast was. The old French Chronicles are much more numerous than ours and not easy to find. A great deal has been written by modern Frenchmen, whose writings are not to be found in the British Museum. A few of these will be quoted as well as our own countrymen, and it is hoped that conclusions arrived at will be considered satisfactory.

French writers have differed as much about where Cæsar started from as we have differed about where he landed. Different writers have thought that he started from the following ports: Ghent, Bruges, Nieuport, Ostende, Dunkirk, Mardick, Gravelines, Saint-Omer, Calais, Sangatte, Escalles, Wissant, Ambleteuse, Wimereux, Boulogne, le Portel, Étaples, Saint-Valery, Dieppe, etc.

THE COAST OF FRANCE.



Scale 0 5 10 15 20 miles

Unfortunately they have begun by taking it for granted, like most English writers, that Cæsar started from the same port for both his voyages. There is no statement in Cæsar or any other ancient writer to support this. The inquiry should be begun with quite an open mind upon this point. It will be shown later on that he probably started from different ports. The question with the French is—Where was the Portus Itius? And then, mixing together the descriptions of the two startings, each writer has been able to show that no port except his own pet one fulfils the necessary conditions. He is blind to the shortcomings of his own favourite. Many English writers have done the same. The only ports which have lately received much support are Boulogne and Wissant.

I have taken the French Ordnance map of 1832 and thereabouts, scale about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to a mile, and have made a map, shading the marsh. This is not so reliable as the map made from the English Ordnance. Marsh and sand appear to be marked differently in the French map.

The most southerly port in the map is Étaples, at the mouth of the river Canche. Its harbour is 5 miles long, and before it was silted up it must have been at least twice as long.

Origines Celtica, by Edwin Guest, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., 1883, vol. ii. p. 333.—Equally clear, though less known, are

the facts, that during the Anglo-Saxon period—that is, from the sixth to the ninth century—Cwanta-wic (now Étaples) was the chief port of communication.

Since that time Étaples does not appear to have been much used as a starting-point for England. Boulogne was as good a port and nearer.

Boulogne is at the mouth of the river Liane. The harbour is now 4 miles long. It formerly stretched 2 miles further inland and went further out to sea, the cliffs having been washed away. It is generally admitted that Boulogne was the ancient Gessoriacum, afterwards called Bononia. The evidence upon this point is not strong. The proof is supposed to be that in two parallel passages, in one the one name occurs, in the other the other name. When I read the argument I thought it weak and did not make a note of it. I think it rests upon passages in “*Ex Panegyricis veteribus*,” which is to be found in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, by Petrie and Sharpe, page lx, v. 1. Both names are mentioned there.

From the time of the Romans to the present day Gessoriacum, Bononia or Boulogne has been a suitable port for a large army to start from to invade England. It was used on the following occasions :

Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, Divus Claudius, 17.—Quare a Massilia Gessoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde

transmisit, ac sine ullo prælio aut sanguine intra paucissimas dies parte insulæ in ditionem recepta, etc.

Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx. cap. i., Constantius et Julianus, 360.—Lupicinus . . . Moto igitur velitari auxilio, Ærulis scilicet et Batavis numerisque Moesiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux antedictus Bononiam venit quæsitisque navigiis et omni opposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum ad Rutupias situs ex adverso defertur petiitque Lundinium, etc.

The general mentioned in the following chapter is Theodosius.

Lib. xxvii. cap. viii., Valentianus Valens Gratianus, 368.—Ad hæc prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens cum venisset ad Bononiæ litus, quod a spatio controverso terrarum angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis æstibus adsueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeatu lentius freto, defertur Rutupias stationem ex adverso tranquila unda. Cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli Joviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque ad Londinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, etc.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, An. 893.—In this year the great army about which we formerly spoke, came again from the eastern kingdom westward to Boulogne [in the Anglo-Saxon Bunnan], and there was shipped; so that they came over in one passage, horses and all; and they came to land at Limenemouth with two hundred and fifty ships.

Étude sur le Portus Itius, par M. l'Abbé D[aniel] Haig-neré, Archiviste de la ville de Boulogne, Paris, 1882, p. 13.—Le port de Boulogne a été le station ordinaire de la flotte britannique et de celle de Charlemagne; parceque Philippe-Auguste et Napoleon I^{er} y ont fait les préparations de leurs plus grandes expéditions maritimes.

The invasion of Philippe Auguste was in the time of our King John.

In 1803 Napoleon collected an army of 100,000 men or more and a fleet of 1300 boats at Boulogne in order to invade England.

Wimereux is a small port 3 miles north of Boulogne, not mentioned in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* or in history.

Ambleteuse is at the mouth of the river Slacq. The harbour, as shown on the French Ordnance map, is one-third of a mile long and one-sixth of a mile wide. The river inland from this appears to run through solid ground for half a mile, and beyond this there is a marsh 4 miles long. If this marsh was formerly water, and was connected with the present harbour, the old harbour must have been 5 miles long, that is, larger than Boulogne harbour. The map is not clear as to levels, so that it is uncertain whether the marsh is low enough to have been formed by the sea stopping the river.

Origines Celticæ, by Dr Edwin Guest, 1883, vol. ii. p. 338. —This valley [of the river Slacq] has a bottom half-a-mile broad, flat as the fens of Cambridgeshire, and stretching for miles into the country. Even at the present day after a rain-fall, much of the valley is under water.

Invasions of Britain by Julius Cæsar, Thomas Lewin, 1859, p. 22, note 1.—Mariette, *Mémoire sur le Portus Itius*. Ambleteuse est à 8000 pas [8 miles] environ de Boulogne, et la rade d'Ambleteuse est encore à 8000 pas.

Lewin does not explain why he considers 8000 pas equal to 8 miles. Mariette makes the length of the harbour equal to the distance from Boulogne, which is right. The date of Mariette is not mentioned.

Lewin gives copies of two old maps of these parts. The first, at page 20, is a copy of a map in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, without date, but supposed to be of the sixteenth century. It shows a large inlet at Boulogne; and another near Cape Gris Nez, first narrow, and then broad further inland. It looks as if it was intended for the harbour at Ambleteuse. The map can hardly represent the state of the coast in the sixteenth century. It may be made to show someone's ideas of what the place was like in earlier times. The second map at page 129 is a copy of a copy of an old map. The original cannot be found. It is supposed to be of the eighth century, but does not look old. That may be because the writing on it is modern. The writing is partly French and partly Latin. The map shows a large inlet a little south of Cape Gris Nez.

Invasions of Britain by Julius Cæsar, 'Thomas Lewin, 1859, p. 33, note 2. Bertrand's *History of Boulogne*.—In the sixth century, Ambleteuse was noted for its trade and fortifications. In 1209 (when it was rebuilt after its destruction by the northern barbarians) excavations were made to form a port. In 1544 Henry the Eighth used it as a general depot

for warlike stores, when it became one of the safest and finest ports in the channel. A few years afterwards it was taken by the French and the fortifications rased. In 1680 Louis XIV. determined on restoring the port and entrusted the work to the celebrated Vauban, when the sluice of the Slacq was made, and a basin dug and pier added, but the full plan was never completed. In 1803 the right wing of Napoleon's grand army was stationed here and the port and basin cleared out.

P. 24.—If Cæsar had 800 vessels, Napoleon had 1300 at Boulogne alone.

A little to the north of Ambleteuse is Audre-celles, where there was a talk some years ago of making a large harbour for Channel steamers by running out piers. It does not appear ever to have been a port.

Four miles after passing Cape Gris Nez we come to the village of Wissant. The old town and harbour have disappeared and their positions are not known. The coast here is very sandy, and the sand is blown about by the wind and forms hills. There is a stream here.

Étude sur le Portus Itius, Haigneré, p. 23.—En effet, la forme prédominante du nom de Wissant au moyen-âge est habituellement dissyllabique; Withstand, Whitsand, Witsand, Witsant, Witzand, Witsandum, Witsantum.

Origines Celticæ by Dr Guest, vol. ii. p. 333.—Equally clear, though less known, are the facts, that during the Anglo-Saxon period—that is from the sixth to the ninth century—Cwanta-wic (now Étaples) was the chief port of communication; that from the tenth to the fifteenth century Wissant enjoyed this honour; and that Calais in its turn

succeeded Wissant Wissant seems to have yielded to Calais because its port was destroyed by one of those sand-storms which are so frequent on the opposite coast.

French advocates of Wissant as the Portus Itius make mention of various early dates when it was used as a port. Haigneré disposes of these, and says that the earliest date is 1013, to be found in Henry of Huntingdon. On looking into this book it will be found that the name is spelled Withland, and that from the context it must be on our side of the Channel.

Henry of Huntingdon, 1013.—Rex autem Ædelred petit Withland, quo per Natale moratus, transfretavit fugitivus ad Ricardum Normanniæ ducem.

The earliest reliable statement that I have found is the following in 1036 :

Historia Normannorum, Willelmus Calculi Gemmeticensis Monachus, 1853, vol. cxlix. p. 852, lib. vii. c. 9.—De traditione Aluredi fratris Edwardi [the Confessor] per Godwinem comitem : Interia frater ejus Aluredus milites non parvi numeri assumpsit, portumque Wisanti petiit et hac transfretens Dorubernium venit.

Origines Celticæ, by Dr Guest, vol. ii. p. 364.—Wissant. Here our English kings landed in their journeys to the continent, . . . here French kings embarked when they visited England ; and at this port in the year 1193, John fitted out the fleet with which he was preparing to take possession of England during the imprisonment of his injured brother.

Cinque Ports, by Montagu Burrows, p. 82 [about 1100 or 1200].—Dover. Each ward [there were 21] was compensated for the expense of providing its stated ship-service to the crown by a licence to employ a packet-boat plying to Witsand.

Histoire de Jules César, Napoleon III., 1865, vol. ii. p. 146.
—Enfin à Boulogne on trouve beaucoup d'antiquités romaines ; à Calais et à Wissant ils n'en existent pas.

This, of course, refers to the modern Wissant. The tradition is that the old town is under the sand hills. If not there, it may have been washed away. The old harbour is either filled up with sand or lost, from the land surrounding it being washed away. From the time of the Saxons to its decay it does not appear to have been a large port. Like Dover, its principal recommendation was, that it was the nearest port to the other side of the Channel.

Two miles from Wissant is Escalles ; a small village, with no harbour and no history.

Three miles beyond Escalles is Sangatte. The French Ordnance map shows a Roman road running towards this place, but not quite reaching it.

Origines Celticæ, by Dr Guest, vol. ii. p. 322.—Sangatte is now a large village, situated on a low cliff beside the sea. It has no port, nor is it easy to see how it ever could have had one. Yet all who have discussed this question are agreed in ascribing to it the character of an ancient port, and I think with reason, for if it were not a port in ancient times, it would be difficult to account for the Roman remains so frequently found there, or for the Roman road which leads to it from Therouane. Possibly Cape Blanc-nez may have projected further seawards two thousand years ago than at present, and so have afforded it something like a shelter from the south-west winds.

In the old map in Lewin's book, Calais Clyves is shown a little to the south-east of Sangatte. The name is sometimes spelt Cliffs or Cliffes.

Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, 1546, 1770, vol. vii. p. 131.—Ratesburgh or Richboro the very near passage from Cales Clyves or Cales was to Ratesburgh and now is to Sandwich.

Calais is 5 miles to the east of Sangatte. The whole of the coast between the two is flat, and it is flat for 9 miles inland. Topley's geological map shows that this is not a recent formation. Calais is, as has been before stated, only a comparatively modern place, nothing being known of it before the middle ages. The harbour is artificial.

We find, then, that history and geography only show us three ports south of Cape Gris Nez fit for the starting-place of even a small army—Étaples, Boulogne, and Ambleteuse. Of these, Étaples is so far south that it would be difficult to imagine it to be the port described by Cæsar upon either occasion. From Boulogne to Dover is 21 miles, from Étaples to Dover 35. Boulogne, from the time of the Romans to the present day, has been a good place for embarking a large army. The harbour is large and sheltered, and the river supplies plenty of fresh water. Ambleteuse may have been at one time as large a harbour as Boulogne, but history does not enlighten us upon this point.

It is known to have been a good harbour of moderate size in the middle ages.

On the coast north-east of Cape Gris Nez geography does not help us as to harbours. History tells us that Wissant was a small port in the middle ages, and the Roman road to Sangatte shows that that town, or something near it, existed in Roman times. Calais Clyves may have taken the place of Sangatte in later times.

I have been to Boulogne and Calais, but I have not examined the coast.

CHAPTER X

CÆSAR IN GAUL

IN rather less than four summers Cæsar conquered nearly the whole of Gaul except the province already held by the Romans. The Ædui and a few other tribes were already friends or allies of the Romans. Gaul included not only France, but also Belgium and a small part of Switzerland. He also went beyond the Rhine.

In order to enable the reader to compare Cæsar's doings in Gaul and Britain, I shall give a short account of his campaigns in Gaul, noticing particularly the number of men fighting on each side. He mentions the number of legions of infantry most years. He only mentions the number of cavalry once (5. 8), when he says that he took 2000 to Britain and left 2000 in Gaul. He sometimes had allies, but he does not state the number, and they were not of much use to him.

The first year he tells us (1. 7 and 8) that there was only one legion in further Gaul. He went to

Italy (1. 10), and raised two more legions and took three more out of winter quarters. This makes six.

(1. 7.) *Provinciae toti quam maximum militum numerum imperat; (erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una).*

(1. 8.) *Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex Provincia convenerant.*

(1. 10.) *Ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribit, et tres, quae circum Aquiloniam hiemabant ex hibernis educit.*

(1. 24.) *Triplicem aciem legionum quatuor veteranorum, ita uti supra se in summo jugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat.*

(1. 49.) *Munitis castris, duas ibi legiones reliquit, et partem auxiliorum; quatuor reliquis in castra majora reliquit.*

The second year he had eight legions.

(2. 2.) *Cæsar duas legiones inciteriore Gallia novas conscripsit.*

The number of legions in the third and fourth years is not stated. In the fifth year there were eight.

(5. 8.) *Labieno in continente, cum tribus legionibus et equitum millibus duobus relicto, . . . ipse cum quinque legionibus, et pari numero equitum, quem in continenti relinquebat, solis occasu naves solvit.*

As there were eight legions in the second year and in the fifth year, and it is not mentioned that more were raised or any sent away between those years, we may conclude that there were eight legions in the second, third, and fourth years. The

number of men in a legion is uncertain and was different at different times. We shall be near the mark in taking it at 4000 in Cæsar's time, and we may take the cavalry at 4000 as mentioned in the fifth year. This would give him 24,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry the first year, together 28,000 men, and after that 32,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, together 36,000. These were fighting men of the regular army, non-combatants and allies not included. Although it is not mentioned, we must suppose that fresh men were sent every year from Italy to take the place of those who were killed or disabled.

The first year, the Helvetii having come to the conclusion that their own country was too small for them, marched into Gaul to conquer fresh lands. They burned their towns and marched out, men, women, and children, 368,000, according to a census made. Of these, 92,000, exactly one quarter, are said to have been fighting men.

(1. 29.) In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt literis Græcis confectæ, et ad Cæsarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat, capitum Helvetiorum millia CCLXIII, Tulingorum millia XXXVI, Latobrigorum XIV, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his, qui arma ferre possent, ad millia XCII. Summa omnium fuerunt ad millia CCCLXVIII.

The Ædui sent to ask Cæsar to protect them against the Helvetii, and this he agreed to do. The Helvetii had asked leave to march across a corner of the Roman province, which Cæsar refused to allow.

(1. 7.) Cæsar quod memoria tenebat, L Cassium consulem occisum, exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat.

(1. 12.) Qua in re Cæsar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est, quod ejus soceri L Pisonis avum L Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem prælio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

Cæsar first attacked one quarter of the Helvetii and defeated them. Afterwards (1. 25 and 26) he fought with the remainder of them, 69,000, his own forces being 28,000. The battle lasted from one o'clock till the evening before the enemy showed their backs. After that the Helvetii fought among their baggage. The Romans killed men, women, and children 130,000 in this battle. Only 110,000 returned home, making 258,000 killed or missing, of whom at least 166,000 must have been women, children, and old men.

(1. 29.) Eorum qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Cæsar imperaverat, repertus est numerus millium C et X.

In this battle the Helvetii were at a disadvantage on account of their shields, which were so slight that the javelins of the Romans often pierced two of them and fixed them together.

(1. 25.) Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod, pluribus eorum scutis uno icto pilorum transfixis et colligatis, quum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere, neque, sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant; multi ut, diu jactato brachio, præoptarent scutum manu emittere, et nudo corpore pugnare.

Later in the year Cæsar fought with the Germans. An army of 120,000 had marched into Gaul (1. 31), but it does not appear how many were in the battle. The Germans were easily beaten and ran away to the Rhine. Some jumped into the water, but very few reached the other side; Cæsar killed all the rest.

(1. 53.) Ita prælium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt, neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum millia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinquaginta pervenerint. Ibi perpauci, aut viribus confisi, transnatare contenderunt, aut, lintribus inventis, sibi, salutem repperunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui, naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus, ea profugit; reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt.

It does not appear that Cæsar had any quarrel with the Germans, or any reason for attacking them. Great conquerors do not wait for reasons.

The second year Cæsar marched against the Belgæ. He had no reason for attacking them. In the winter the various tribes of the Belgæ, fearing that Cæsar would attack them next, formed an alliance to resist him (2. 1). They undertook to

put in the field the following number of soldiers (2. 4):—

Bellovici	60,000	Velocasses	10,000	} or 10 together
Suessiones	40,000	Veromandui	10,000	
Nervii	50,000	Aduatici	29,000	
Atrabates	15,000	Condrusi	} 40,000	
Ambiani	10,000	Eburones		
Morini	25,000	Cæræsi		
Menapii	9,000	Pæmani		
Caleti	10,000		<hr/>	
			308,000	

Cæsar sent his allies the Ædui to attack the Bellovici (2. 5). He defeated the Suessiones (2. 12), the Bellovici (2. 12), and the Ambiani (2. 15). The numbers fighting are not mentioned. He then marched against the Nervii, the Atrabates, and the Veromandui who were in one place. The numbers promised by them were 75,000. The numbers they brought into this battle were 60,000 (2. 28). Cæsar gives this number to the Nervii, but it clearly includes the three tribes. Cæsar had eight legions and cavalry, together 36,000, and also some cavalry of the Treviri. Roughly speaking, his Roman troops were two-thirds as many as the enemy. The Nervii attacked the Romans when they were making their camp and quite unprepared to receive them. Then followed the most hard-fought and bloody battle mentioned in history, if we take into consideration that it was

fought in the open, and that the Nervii, who were the losers, might have retired into the woods at any time. The battle went on until there were no more Nervii to fight. Out of 600 senators only 3 survived; out of 60,000 soldiers only 500 survived (2. 28). Cæsar was moved by the bravery of the Nervii, and kindly refrained from killing the 503 survivors. He also spared the women, children, and old men. According to Cæsar's description, the Nervii behaved more bravely than his men. Some of his troops ran away; the others could not. None of the Nervii retreated. When the first men fell, the next stood upon their fallen bodies, and so on until it was like a mound.

(2. 27.) *Ut ex tumulo tela in nostros conjecerent.*

The victory of the Romans was not due to better tactics or better military formation. The enemy were on them so suddenly that they had no time to fall into their places (2. 21 and 22). The victory must have been due to better men or better weapons. The Gauls were bigger men than the Romans (2. 30). After this Cæsar took a town, killing 4000 men and selling a whole section of the town into slavery, 53,000 persons. The number looks large. What was the size of the town?

The next winter one of his legates, Galba, was in a town in Switzerland with one legion, less two cohorts, and many men away collecting provisions, say 3000 men remaining with him (3. 2). He was attacked by 30,000 Swiss. He sallied and killed over 10,000. The rest ran away (3. 6).

Publius Crassus, another legate, wintering in the country of the Andes, was short of food. He sent officers to the Veneti and others to collect some (3. 7). The Gauls detained the officers and said they would not return them until Cæsar returned their hostages (3. 8). We have only Cæsar's version of the story, and he does not tell us how he got possession of the hostages. Cæsar was very angry, and marched against the Veneti with three legions and two cohorts and no cavalry. He built a fleet and defeated the Veneti at sea. They had 220 ships (3. 14), of which very few escaped (3. 15). To punish them for detaining his ambassadors, he killed all the senators and sold the rest into slavery.

(3. 16.) *Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.*

It is not clear what "reliquos" means, whether soldiers only, or men, women, and children.

At the same time Sabinus with three legions (3. 11) defeated the Unelli (3. 19).

Cæsar sent Publius Crassus with twelve cohorts,

4800 men, and a large number of cavalry to Aquitaine (3. 11). Crassus gained several battles, in one of which he killed 37,000 men (3. 26).

The fourth year Cæsar determined to make war upon the Germans who were in Gaul (4. 6). When he reached the German army he agreed to give them a three days' truce (4. 11). The first day of the truce 800 German cavalry attacked and defeated 5000 of Cæsar's cavalry, killing 74 of them (4. 12). This made Cæsar very angry. It was bad enough to be attacked during a truce, but for 800 barbarians to defeat and chase 5000 of the Roman army, even though they happened to be Aquitani, was adding insult to injury. The next day being the second of the truce, the princes and elders came to apologise, and Cæsar detained them (4. 13). The third day of the truce he attacked the Germans in their camp without notice. As there was a truce, they were not armed or prepared to fight (4. 14). Some few stood up for a short time, but very soon they all ran away, and ran till they came to rivers. There were killed and drowned 430,000 men, women, and children. The Romans did not lose a man (4. 15).

Dr W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. i. p. 547, C. J. Cæsar, B.C. 55.—The senate accordingly voted him a public thanksgiving of twenty days, notwithstanding the opposition of Cato, who declared that Cæsar

ought to be given up to the Usipites and Tenchtheri, to prevent the Gods from visiting upon Rome his violation of the law of nations in seizing the sacred persons of ambassadors.

After this he built a bridge over the Rhine and crossed into Germany (4. 18). The Germans would not fight, so he returned after waiting eighteen days (4. 19).

As mentioned before, Cæsar's army consisted of about 36,000 Roman soldiers and some allies. The number of the enemy mentioned as killed is not always quite clear, but it appears to have been over 800,000, men, women, and children, in the four years. But this is not the whole, because in several battles he does not mention the number killed.

CHAPTER XI

CÆSAR'S FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN

THE reader should have his Cæsar open before him while studying this chapter and those about the second invasion.

I cannot agree with the writer who says, "If you want to understand Cæsar, read Cæsar only." Great assistance may be found in the writings of other ancient authors. In many cases they describe things rather differently and show the real meaning of his words. They had sources of information which we have not. There was at least one other description of the invasions of Britain by an eye-witness besides Cæsar's. Athenæus (A.D. 120) mentions one by Cotta which appears to have described the second invasion. This may have been Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, Cæsar's legate, afterwards killed in Gaul. He did not go to Britain the first year. Just before starting for Britain (4. 22) Cæsar sent him to the Menapii, and

after coming back from Britain he relates (4. 38) what he had done among the Menapii.

Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, lib. vi. cap. xxi.—But Julius Cæsar, who with a thousand vessels, was the first of all men who crossed over into the Britannic islands, was attended by only three servants; as Cotta, who was then serving under him, relates in the book which he wrote in our vernacular language concerning the polity of the Romans.

The principal thing that we learn from the short remarks of other writers is that the invasions were not so satisfactory as Cæsar leads us to suppose, and that several times he was in a very uncomfortable position. The longest and most valuable account is by Dion Cassius, which is certainly not copied from Cæsar. The greater part of what he wrote about the first invasion will be quoted as we come to the corresponding passages in Cæsar, but it is best that the reader should also read the whole of the passages straight through.

Dion Cassius (A.D. 229), *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xxxix. sec. 50.—Cæsar therefore first of the Romans, then crossed the Rhine, and afterwards passed over into Britain, in the consulship of Pompey & Crassus. This country is distant from the continent of Celtica, where the Morini dwell, at least four hundred and fifty stadia: and it stretches out along the remaining portion of Gaul and nearly the whole of Iberia, extending upward into the sea. To the earliest of the Greeks and Romans its very existence was not known, but to those of aftertimes it became a matter of dispute whether it were a continent or an island: and much has been written on either side by persons who, having neither them-

selves seen nor heard of it from its inhabitants, know nothing concerning it, but merely conjectured, as prompted by leisure or the love of controversy ; in process of time, however, first under Agricola the proprætor, and now under the Emperor Severus, it has been clearly proved to be an island.

Sec. 51/3.—To this island, then, Cæsar at the time when the other Gauls were tranquil, and he had subjugated the Morini, vehemently desired to pass over. And he completed the passage with his infantry just as he wished, though he landed not at the spot he should have done, for the Britons, having already heard of his approach, had possessed themselves of all the landing places facing the continent. Sailing, therefore, round a certain promontory, he reached its further side ; and then having defeated those who attacked him while disembarking on the shallows, he effected his landing before further succours could arrive ; and afterwards repulsed the enemy when assailing him. Few, however, of the barbarians fell ; for being mounted on chariots and on horses, they easily escaped from the Romans, whose cavalry had not yet joined them ; nevertheless greatly alarmed at what they had heard from the continent concerning them, and at their boldness in crossing the seas at all, and their success in effecting a landing in their country, they sent to Cæsar certain of the Morini, who were in amity with them, suing for peace. And on his demanding hostages they consented at the time to give them.

But the Romans meanwhile having suffered severely through a storm which had shattered their ships already arrived, as well as those which were on their passage, the Britons changed their purpose ; and although they did not openly attack them, for the camp was strongly defended, yet intercepting such as had been sent out, as though into a friendly country for provisions, they killed them, with the exception of a few, whom Cæsar speedily succoured ; and after this they attempted the camp itself, but without effect, and were repelled with loss ; they would not come to terms

however, until they had been repeatedly worsted. Cæsar, in truth had no intention to grant them peace; but as the winter was approaching, and he had not sufficient forces present to carry on the war during its continuance, moreover, as the fleet he had expected had failed to reach its port, and the Gauls in consequence of his absence, had become tumultuous, he reluctantly entered into a treaty with them; demanding still more hostages, though he received but a small number.

He then sailed back to the continent, and quieted the commotions there; having gained no advantage to himself or to the state from Britain, except the glory of having conducted an expedition against it. Of this indeed, he spoke in very lofty terms himself, and the Romans at home entertained a wonderfully high opinion. For seeing that places before unknown were now made manifest, and a region hitherto unheard of now rendered accessible to them; they indulged the hope of success as if it were already a reality, and looking upon whatever they expected to achieve as now in their possession, they gave way to joy: and on this account decreed a festival of twenty days continuance.

Tacitus (A.D. 120), *Agricolæ vita*, caput xiii.—Igitur primus omnium Romanorum D Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus quanquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.

Strabo (A.D. 25), *Geography*, book iv. chap. v. par. 3.—Divus Cæsar twice passed over to the island, but quickly returned, having effected nothing of consequence, nor proceeded far into the country, as well on account of some commotions in Keltica, both among his own soldiers and among the barbarians, as because of the loss of many of his ships at the time of the full moon, when both the ebb and the flow of the tides were greatly increased. Nevertheless, he gained two or three victories over the Britons, although he had transplanted thither only two legions of his army, and brought away hostages and slaves and much booty.

Plutarch's *Lives* (A.D. 100), *Julius Cæsar*.—He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished; he only received hostages of the king and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

Titi Livii, *Epitome*, lib. cv.—Cæsar (C. Julius) victis Germanis, et in Gallia cæsis, Rhenum transcendit [An. A.C. 55], et proximam partem Germaniæ domuit: ac deinde oceano in Britanniam, primo parum prospere tempestatibus adversis, trajecit: iterum parum felicius, magnaue multitudine hostium cæsa, aliquam partem insulæ redegit.

Albius Tibullus (B.C. 18), lib. iv. carmen l. v. 147.—

Quid moror? oceanus ponto qua continet orbem,
Nulla tibi adversis regio sese offeret armis.
Te manet invictus Romano marte Britannus,
Teque interjecto mundi pars altera sole.

Lucan (A.D. 65), *Pharsaliæ*, lib. ii. v. 571.—

Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi,
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

The passages just quoted will have brought the reader into a proper state of mind to read Cæsar's own description of his invasions of Britain, and it will be found that there is nothing in his narrative to contradict them. He merely does not make enough of the dangers and difficulties of his position. Without the assistance of other writers it is difficult to realise the sudden change that came over his fortunes. In four campaigns in Gaul he

had carried everything before him, quite regardless of the numbers opposed to him. When he came to Britain everything seemed to go wrong. It was only when he could meet the enemy with his legions drawn up in battle array that he was able to beat them, and the Britons did not often accommodate him by coming up to be slaughtered.

In following Cæsar's movements the question of drinking-water must never be lost sight of. From overlooking this point, many writers, even military ones, have placed the army where there was nothing but salt water to drink. It must be remembered that the first time Cæsar invaded Britain he had 8000 men. On the second occasion he had a much larger army.

(4. 20.) Cæsar gives as his reason for invading Britain, "*quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat.*" The excuse was good enough for him. He started at the end of August, B.C. 55, as shown by the names of the consuls mentioned. There is no dispute about the year and very little doubt about the month, which will be discussed later on. He had finished a few little wars that year and thought that the remainder of the season might be well used in making a reconnaissance in force into Britain, that is, an expedition of all arms and strong enough to drive back the troops of the enemy some distance,

so as to gain information about his numbers and positions and the country.

Et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset, quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognitæ.

Cæsar appears to have known nothing about the coast of Britain at that time. He called together merchants from all sides, but they professed entire ignorance of everything that he inquired about, and immediately afterwards told the Britons that he was coming.

(4. 21.) Not wishing to approach the coast without knowing what harbours there were, Cæsar sent C. Volusenus in a war ship (*navis longa*) to inspect the coast. Volusenus returned in five days. Not liking the looks of the natives he had been afraid to land, but the information that he brought back was sufficient for Cæsar, and he afterwards acted upon it. Cæsar marched with all his forces to the country of the Morini, because the shortest passage to Britain was from there, and he ordered ships to be collected there. Cæsar tells us that the Britons promised to send him hostages and that he made them liberal promises. This is not intelligible, because the Britons were not a conquered nation, and there was no reason why they should send hostages. On the other hand there was no reason why Cæsar

should make liberal promises. He certainly did not keep them. He wished the Britons "*obtemporare populo Romano*," which may mean anything from "to be civil to" to "submit to." He sent over Commius the Atrebas (or Atrebat, or Atrebate, or Atrebatian) to try to persuade the Britons "*ut Populi Romani fidem sequantur*," whatever that may mean. All that is clear is that he wanted to make a treaty, and that he was to have the best of the terms. He sent word that he was going to Britain shortly, but he gave no reason for going to war. He was too great a man to condescend to do that.

There is no other passage in Cæsar or elsewhere that helps us to find the exact position of the Morini or of the port from which Cæsar started. The only other author who says anything about the starting-point, except those who only copy Cæsar, is Strabo. This is a description of the country, not of Cæsar's expedition. It is not clear whether he is writing about the first expedition or the second, or both. He mentions Itium as the starting-point, but it is not clear whether he puts it in the country of the Menapii or the Morini; but Cæsar states that he started from the country of the Morini the first time. The arriving at the fourth hour agrees with Cæsar's description of the first invasion. 320 stadia are not mentioned by Cæsar.

It is the distance from Boulogne to Deal. In the second paragraph, which has been already quoted, the commotion in Keltica appears to belong to the second expedition (5. 22), the full moon to the first. The two or three victories cannot be found in the first expedition, but are in the second. The two legions are in the first. The hostages, slaves, and much other booty are in the second. In the first a few hostages were brought away, but not slaves and much other booty. The corn in the fields would do for either year. This passage does not prove anything. Its information is taken from various sources and mixed up.

Strabo, *Geography*, book iv. chap. v. par 2.—There are four passages commonly used from the continent to the island, namely from the mouths of the rivers Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne; but to such as set sail from the parts about the Rhine, the passage is not exactly from the mouths, but from the Morini, who border on the Menapii, among whom also is situated Itium, which divus Cæsar used as a naval station when about to cross over to the island; he set sail by night, and arrived the next day about the fourth hour, having completed the passage of 320 stadia, and he found the corn in the fields.

Book iv. chap. v. par. 3.—Divus Cæsar twice passed over to the island, but quickly returned, having effected nothing of consequence, nor proceeded far into the country, as well on account of some commotions in Keltica, both among his own soldiers and among the barbarians, as because of the loss of many of his ships at the time of the full moon, when both the ebb and the flow of the tides were greatly encreased. Nevertheless he gained two or three victories over the Britons,

although he had transplanted thither only two legions of his army, and brought away hostages, and slaves and much other booty.

Dion Cassius also mentions the Morini. I do not think that all the information enables us to say whether Wissant was in the country of the Morini. Boulogne probably was, judging from the distance given by Dion Cassius, but he was nearly 300 years after Cæsar.

Dionis Cassei, *Historia*, lib. xxxix. sec. 50.—Britannia millibus passuum ad minimum LVI a Galliæ parte ea, quam Morini habitant, distat, vergit autem præter cæteram Galliam, fereque totam Hispaniam, in mare sese extendens.

Cæsar also mentions the Morini (4. 37 and 38) on his return from the first invasion.

(4. 22.) Cæsar's fleet was only a small one, 90 or 100 ships, carrying 8000 men without baggage (4. 30) or horses. Looking back to the chapter on the Coast of France, it will be found that the only ports from which such a fleet is known to have started are Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Wissant. Étaples is too far off and Calais is too modern. Sangatte and Calais Cliffs are not known to have been used for such a purpose. There may have been other suitable ports in Cæsar's time. Eighteen ships were detained by the wind at a port 8 miles off. These he allotted to the cavalry, and when the main fleet sailed he sent the cavalry to the further "ulteriorem" port to embark and follow him.

They did not sail that day, but only on the fourth day after he arrived in Britain (4. 28). In this place he calls it the superior port. Now if the main fleet sailed from Boulogne, the 18 ships may have been at Ambleteuse, 6 Roman miles off. The fleet sailing from Boulogne to Dover would pass close to Ambleteuse, and any wind suitable for a fleet from Boulogne would be almost equally suitable for a fleet from Ambleteuse. On the other hand, if Wissant was the main port, ships might be able to sail from there to Dover with a wind from the south, or a little to the west of south, but ships from Sangatte or Calais Cliffs could not reach Dover with such a wind. Roman ships were badly rigged and could only sail nearly before the wind. If Ambleteuse was the main port and Wissant the further port, there would be the same difficulty as with Boulogne and Ambleteuse, that the same wind would suit both. The distances of the ports from Dover are: Boulogne 29 English miles, Ambleteuse 25, Wissant 22. The expedition consisted of soldiers, not sailors, and it would be important to make the voyage as short as possible. A few miles more or less marching would be of no importance. All three ports being suitable as to size and supply of fresh water, it would be best to start from the one from which the passage was

shortest. This seems to have been Cæsar's opinion, and Wissant seems to be the most likely place. Attempts have been made to work out this question by taking the number of miles that a ship could sail in an hour and the rate that the tide would be running. The results are not conclusive, because we know very little about the powers of the Roman ships or about the tides at that time. In this passage some of the ships took five hours and a half longer than others. It would certainly be difficult for Roman ships to go from Boulogne to Dover in the time mentioned by Cæsar.

The reasons for choice of port for starting for the second invasion were different. Then the question was to find a port capable of holding 800 vessels which were to carry 22,000 fighting men and baggage, and 2000 horses and camp followers, and which was supplied with drinking-water for such large numbers. We do not know that Wissant or Ambleteuse have ever been used for so large an expedition, but Boulogne has. Cæsar does not mention the Portus Itius the first year, nor give any names to the ports from which he sailed.

The legions that Cæsar took with him were the 10th mentioned (4. 25) and the 7th mentioned (4. 32). Quintus Cicero was in Britain this year, as we know by a letter from his brother, which will be given in the chapter on Cicero's dates. Up

to this time he had not been mentioned as a legate, but the next year he is called one (5. 24).

(4. 23.) Cæsar started with a favourable wind, "*tertia fere vigilia*," almost in the third watch, or just before the third watch. The Romans divided the night into four watches from sunset to sunrise, so that the third watch always began at midnight. He himself arrived with the first ships about the fourth hour of the day and waited till the ninth hour for the remainder of the ships to arrive. The Romans divided the day into twelve hours from sunrise to sunset. On the 26th August, which is decided to be the most likely day, the sun rises at 5.5 and sets 6.58 at Greenwich. The difference at Dover would be very little. This makes the fourth hour of the day 9.43 a.m. and the ninth hour 3.30 p.m. Cæsar's description of the place where he arrived correctly describes Dover as it was in his time, when the harbour ran a mile inland between the chalk hills and the sea covered nearly the whole of the space now occupied by the town. The stream here would easily have supplied his army with fresh water. There is very little difference of opinion about this being the place where Cæsar reached the coast, though even Appledore and Pevensey have been mentioned. There is only one other classical writer who mentions this attempted landing, another describes the coast.

Dion Cassius, book xxxix. sec. 51.—Though he landed not at the spot he should have done; for the Britons, having already heard of his approach, had possessed themselves of all the landing places facing the continent.

Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. xvi.—Constat enim aditus insulæ munitos mirificis mollibus.

We see from this that the place he came to was the usual port of arrival from the continent. Dover was a very good place for an unopposed landing, but one where it was impossible to land in the face of an enemy on account of the hills on both sides of the harbour. According to both Cæsar and Dion Cassius the Britons received information of his intended movements. They made proper use of the information and prevented his landing. In Gaul, Switzerland, and Germany he went where he liked. Here he found himself in such a position that he could not fight. “Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum.” He called his officers together and told them what he had learned from Volusenus, and instructed them what to do when he gave the signal. There can be no doubt that Volusenus had told him where the army might safely land and make a camp. A place would not be suitable for a camp unless there was a sufficient supply of drinking-water.

Suetonius (A.D. 70), *De vita Cæsarum*, Divus Julius, 58.—In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit unquam nisi

perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset.

At the ninth hour, that is half-past 3 in the afternoon, Cæsar sailed from Dover with a favourable wind and tide to a place about seven miles off, and stopped his ships at a flat and open shore. The dispute over these words has lasted for centuries. The question is, which way the fleet sailed. It is impossible to go into all the arguments used, many of them very feeble. It will be enough to consider the more important ones. Halley, the Astronomer Royal, was thought to have settled the question in 1691. His conclusions were not upset for 150 years, when it was shown that he was wrong as to his facts, and that therefore his arguments proved nothing. The date he gives for the full moon must be taken as correct, and forms the starting-point of all arguments on this question.

A Discourse tending to prove at what Time and Place Julius Cæsar made his first Descent upon Britain: read before the Royal Society by E. Halley. *Philosophical Transactions*, 1691, vol. xvii. No. 193. London, 1694, p. 498.—5. From these data, That it was in the year of the *consulate* of *Pompey* and *Crassus*; That it was *Exiguâ parte ætatis reliquâ*, and Four days before the Full-Moon, which fell out in the night time, the time of this invasion will be determined to a day: For by the Eclipse of the Moon, whereof Drusus made so good use to quiet a Mutiny in the Pannonian army,

upon the news of the death of Augustus, it follows that Augustus died Anno Christi 14 which was reckoned Anno Urbis conditæ 767, and that this action was 68 years before, viz. in the 55 year before Christ Current. In which Year the Full-Moon fell out August 30 after midnight, or 31 in the Morning before day; and the preceeding Full-Moon was August 1, soon after Noon; so that this could not be the Full-Moon mentioned, as falling in the daytime: nor that of the beginning of July, it being not 10 days from the Summer Solstice, when it would not have been said *exiguâ parte æstatis reliquâ*. It follows therefore that the Full-Moon spoken of was on August 30 at night, and that the landing on Britain was August 26 in the Afternoon, about a month before the Autumnal equinox, which agrees to all the Circumstances of the Story in point of time.

6. As to the Place, the high Land and Cliffs described, could be no other than those of Dover, and are allowed to have been so by all, it remains only to examine whether the descent was made to the Northward or Southward of the place where he first Anchored. The data to determine this, are first that it was Four days before the Full Moon. 2. That that day by Three of the Clock in the Afternoon the Tide ran the same way he Sailed. 3rdly That a S b E Moon makes High-Water on all that Coast, the flood coming from the Southward: hence it will follow, that that day it was High-water there about Eight in the Morning, and consequently Low-water about Two, whereof by Three the Tide of Flood was well made up, and it is plain that Cæsar went with it, and the Flood setting to the Northward shows that the open Plain shore where he Landed was to the Northward of the Cliffs, and must be in the Downs; and this I take to be little less than Demonstration.

Halley was under the impression that when the tide was rising the current ran up channel, and that when the tide was falling the current ran

down channel. This is a mistake, but it was not pointed out till 150 years after his time, by Lieutenant R. A. Burstall, R.N. His original writing cannot be found, so a copy is given from Dunkin. The date cannot have been long before Dunkin's book. Dunkin also quotes Captain Beechy who says that Halley was wrong about the tides.

History of the County of Kent, by Alfred John Dunkin, London, 1856, vol. ii. p. 73.—Lieut. Burstall thus writes, that during the interval between 12^h.40^m and 6^h.40^m p.m. of August the twenty-seventh, the stream was setting to the westward, and therefore if he weighed anchor at 3½ h.p.m. the stream was setting to the W S W.

Halley's argument which he took to be "little less than Demonstration" falls through because he was wrong about his facts. Burstall's conclusion cannot be relied upon because we cannot be sure that the currents ran the same way in Cæsar's time that they do now, at the same state of tide. When the water rises in the Atlantic the tide runs up the English Channel and also round the north of Scotland and south through the North Sea. The two tides meet somewhere north of Dover. Any great change in the coast would affect the rate at which these tides travelled and would change the place where they met. We know that there have been very great changes in the Channel. It has been shown that the sea ran between the Isle of

Thanet and Kent by a strait, which in Bede's time, 800 years later, was still three furlongs wide. The western half of Romney Marsh was not enclosed, the eastern half may not have been enclosed. Many large harbours have been filled up. Large harbours produce considerable effect upon the height of the water outside. For instance in Swanage bay the tide rises only 6 feet at spring tides and 4 feet at neap tides. This small rise and fall is caused principally by Poole Harbour, partly by Southampton Water. On the other hand, projecting chalk cliffs and some other parts have been washed away. On the whole the result is that the coast line is much less indented than it was. North of the Thames we have not so much information, but we know that the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk has been a good deal washed away. Apparently all the inlets that rivers run into are being filled up. The coast of France has also been changed. The harbours of Wissant, Sangatte, and Calais Cliffs have been lost. It is not known whether they have been covered with sand, or whether the coast has been washed away. Ambleteuse harbour has been filled up, and the coast at Boulogne has been washed away a little since Roman times.

Captain Montagu Burrows holds the opinion that it is not possible to calculate the tides in

Cæsar's time. Being a naval man, and a professor of history, and having studied the coast, his opinion is particularly valuable.

Cinque Ports, by Captain Montagu Burrows, p. 8.—It is obvious to remark in reference to these coast-changes that they can hardly but vitiate the calculations which have been held to decide the place of Cæsar's landing in the Cinque Ports districts. Not only may the depth of the Channel have largely varied, but the space over which the tides travel must be at least two miles wider than it was some 2000 years ago, and therefore the point of meeting of the North and South tide-streams cannot possibly be exactly the same; yet this is the assumption under which all these calculations have been made.

Another doubtful point is the day of Cæsar's arrival. Classical scholars are not agreed about the meaning of the words (4. 28) "post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum," whether the day of arrival counts as the first day, or whether the day after the arrival is the first. The Romans do not appear to have been particular as to the use of the expression. In consequence of this uncertainty Halley makes the day the 26th August and Burstall the 27th, counting back from the full moon. Some one else says that it was the 25th. Of course the tides varied some hours on these three days. No one disputes that the full moon was the one mentioned by Halley, 31st August before sunrise. The case is even stronger than he puts it. In (4. 20) Cæsar says "Exigua

parte æstatis reliqua," and after that he collected ships and did various other things before he started. His stay in England does not appear from his description to have been more than a month, and we know that he returned to Gaul before the end of September.

As this controversy between modern writers has failed to fix the day of the month or the direction of the tides, those two points must be left undecided, and we must look to Cæsar and other ancient writers for information upon other points which may help us to decide where the Romans landed.

(4. 23.) Dato signo, et sublatiis anchoribus, circiter millia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, book xxxix. sec. 51.—Sailing therefore, round a certain promontory, he reached its further side.

He sailed 7 miles round a promontory to an open and flat shore. If he sailed down channel he would find no promontory, and the shore would be high until he came to Romney Marsh, 10 miles from Dover. Romney Marsh is open and flat enough, but there would be no water for an army to drink. This is supposing that the marsh was formed and enclosed at that time. There may have been a harbour or inlet, as in later times, between the marsh and the solid ground, running

up as far as Lympne. But the shore of the solid ground is steep, and cannot be described as an open and flat shore. Cæsar did not go into a harbour. Besides, the map does not show any stream here which could supply an army with water. If he sailed up channel he would sail round the promontory of the South Foreland, and 7 miles from Dover he would find an open and flat shore at Walmer. He may have landed at Walmer, but he could not have made his camp there, because there was no water. It is possible that he may have underestimated the distance to the landing-place. His camp must have been on the stream from Northbourne and Eastry, which now supplies Sandwich with water. It crosses the road between Upper Deal and Sandwich, 3 miles from Walmer. This road is on solid ground except where the stream crosses it. The mouth of the stream may have been here in Cæsar's time, or, if the level was formed outside the road at that time, it may have been a few miles up or down channel, possibly at Deal or Walmer. We do not know which way the shingle or sand drifted at that time. The course of the river Stour near Richborough Castle shows that the mouth of the river was at one time driven down channel, so that the drift of the shingle or sand must then have been in that direction. Afterwards the mouth of the river was driven up

channel. There is a passage in the writings of Nennius, who was a Briton, which confirms the view that Cæsar sailed up channel. Battely helps us to understand Nennius.

Nennius, A.D. 856, *Historia Britonum*, sec. 19.—Tunc Julius Cæsar, cum accepisset singulare imperium primus et obtinuisset regnum, iratus est valde, et venit ad Britanniam cum sexagintis ciulis, et tenuit in ostium Thamesis.

Cæsar in Kent, by Rev. Francis Thomas Vine, 1887, p. 242.—For, as Battely says, the river Thames continued to give its name to the waters which flowed through the Wantsum, and claimed for itself the sea coast as far as Dover. [Note.] The rights of Pilotage still exercised by the Trinity House pilots as far as Dover are a remnant of this ancient claim.

(4. 24.) The Barbarians saw what Cæsar was doing, and sending on their cavalry and chariots they opposed the landing. Dion Cassius tells us that only the cavalry and chariots arrived in time to fight. Cæsar had the wind and tide with him, and was able to reach the shore and land his troops before the British infantry arrived. They had nearly as far to march as he had to sail, and they had to go over a high chalk down.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, book xxxix. sec. 51.—Few, however, of the barbarians fell; for being mounted on chariots and on horses, they easily escaped from the Romans, whose cavalry had not joined them.

Cæsar had no naval experience, and had not properly estimated the difficulty of landing from such large vessels in the face of an enemy. There

were no boats to his transports. He describes the disadvantages that his men laboured under in this novel position, and says that they were "perterriti." Here was an ignominious position to be in: two whole legions, one of them his favourite 10th, stopped by a lot of half-naked barbarians, as he calls them, not even infantry, but cavalry and dismounted chariot soldiers, men with no defensive armour whatever, "omnibus membris expediti."

There is a story of Scæva, a soldier who lost his shield, which appears in different shapes in the writings of different authors. If correctly told it might throw some light upon the state of the coast at that period. But it appears to have been repeated as a good story with a moral, not as a piece of history. The coast has changed so much that it is impossible to find a place like that where the incident occurred. It does not seem to agree with Cæsar's narrative.

Valerius Maximus (A.D. 37), *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, lib. iii. c. ii. 23.—Tum vero, Scæva, inxsuperabilem spiritum in utraque parte rerum naturæ qua admiratione prosequar nescio; quoniam excellenti virtute dubium reliquisti, inter undasne pugnam fortiolem edideris an in terra vocem emiseris.

Bello namque quo C Cæsar non contentus opera sua oceani claudere litoribus, Britannicæ insulæ cælestes injecit manus, cum quatuor commilitonibus rate transvectus, in scopulum vicinum insulæ, quam hostium ingentes copiæ obtinebant; postquam æstus regressu suo spatium, quo scopulus in insula dividebantur in vadum transitu facile redegit, ingenti multi-

tudine barbarorum affluente, ceteris rate ad litus regressis, solus immobilem stationis gradum retinens undique ruentibus telis et ab omni parte acri studio ad te invadendum nitentibus, quinque militum diurno prælio suffectura pila, una dextra, hostium corporibus adegisti: ad ultimum, destricto gladio, audacissimum quemque, modo umbonis impulso, modo mucronis ictu depellens, hinc Romanis, illunc Britannicis oculis incredibili, dum cerneris spectaculo fuisti, Postquam deinde ira ac pudor cuncta conarri fessas coegit, tragula femur trajectus, saxique pondere ora contusus, galea jam ictibus discussa, et scuto crebris foraminibus assumpto, profundo te credidisti, ac duobus loriceis onustus, inter undas, quas hostili cruore interfecerat, enatisti; visoque imperatore armis non amissis, sed bene impensis, cum laudem mereris, veniam petiisti. Magnus prælio, sed major disciplinæ militaris memoria; itaque ab optimo virtutis æstimatore, cum facta, tum etiam verba tua, centurionatus honore donata sit.

Plutarch's *Lives* (A.D. 100), *Julius Cæsar*.—In Britain some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and, after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier, in great distress threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

Eutropius (A.D. 730).—Scæva miles Cæsaris cum quatuor commilitonibus navicula ante transvectus est ad scopulum insulæ propinquum, atque interea recessu oceani destitutus est. Complures Britanni in paucos Romanos impetum faciunt: cæteri tamen qui perrari comites ipsius fuerunt, navigio redeunt; Scæva imperterritus manet, undique telis obrutus: ac primo pilo restitit, postremo gladio rem gerit

solus in plures. Cumque fessus, vulneratusque esset, et galeam et scutum ictibus perdidisset, cum duabus loricis natavit ad castra Cæsaris, et proposcit ab imperatore veniam pro temeritate, quem Cæsar Centurionatus honore subvexit.

(4. 25.) Cæsar then ordered the *naves longæ* to row up and down close to the shore and attack the enemy with projectiles of all sorts. This drew off the attention of the Britons from the transports, but the Romans in the transports still held back. Cæsar very nearly had to go back to Gaul that afternoon. At last the bearer of the eagle of the 10th legion, after a short speech to his comrades, jumped into the water and the others followed.

(4. 26.) The Britons fought hard and harassed the Romans as they were getting out of the ships and in deep water. The Britons had the best of the position, being in shallow water and more lightly armed. Cæsar ordered the boats of the *naves longæ* and the spy boats to go into the thickest part of the fight. At last the Romans reached dry ground and the fighting was soon over. The British cavalry and chariots could do nothing against the Roman infantry when they were in close order on *terra firma*, and they wisely retired, or as Cæsar puts it, took to flight. The Romans could not pursue them because they had no cavalry.

(4. 27.) The Britons, after being beaten in this

fight, sent ambassadors to Cæsar to treat about peace. They promised to send hostages and do what he had commanded, that was, to submit to the Roman people (4. 21). Together with these ambassadors came Commius the Atrebat. Dion Cassius gives an account much like this, but he does not say that the Britons sent their own ambassadors, only that they sent certain of the Morini who were at peace with them. This must mean Commius and his party.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xxxix. sec. 51.—Nevertheless greatly alarmed at what they had heard from the continent concerning them [the Romans] and at their boldness in crossing the seas at all, and their success in effecting a landing in their country, they send to Cæsar certain of the Morini, who were in amity with them, suing for peace. And on his demanding hostages they consented at the time to give them.

Cæsar does not give us the whole of the terms of the peace made at this time. He says that the Britons were to give hostages and submit, “obtemperare,” to the Roman people. He does not mention what he was to do. Appian supplies the information in one of the few passages that have been saved of this part of his works. He says that Cæsar undertook to leave the country as soon as the treaty was ratified.

Appian, *De Rebus Gallicis*, lib. iv. sec. 19, A.C. 55.—Immediately they [the Romans] provoked the Britons to violate

their oaths ; who complained, that although they had ratified the treaty, yet still the army remained amongst them.

The Britons made excuses for detaining Com-mius, and Cæsar forgave them. He had no power to do anything else. When the Veneti detained his ambassadors, he took their fleet, killed all their senators, and sold the rest into slavery (3. 16). He would have done the same to the Britons if he had been able to. He complained to the Britons that, although they had sent ambassadors to Gaul to beg peace of him, they had made war without cause. This is not a true description of what had taken place. He had invaded their country within a few days of making terms with them (4. 21), and all that they had done was to try to stop his landing. Cæsar ordered hostages. The Britons gave some at once, and said that they would have to send some distance for the remainder. The chiefs told the country people to go back to their work in the fields again, and they came and made friends with Cæsar.

(4. 28.) Four days after Cæsar's arrival, or on the fourth day that he was in England, the cavalry sailed from the upper ("superiore") port, but when they had arrived within sight of Cæsar's camp, suddenly a strong wind arose. Some were driven back again and others were driven to the lower ("inferiorem") part of the island towards the west.

The use of the word "inferior" here for down channel makes it quite clear that the port from which the cavalry started, called in this chapter "superior" and in (4. 23) "ulterior," was up channel from the principal starting port.

(4. 29.) The moon was full that night. On the day of the full moon the tides are nearly the highest. Our men did not know this. It is not intelligible that they should not have learned about the tides, as they had been for some time on the coast of Gaul preparing for the expedition, besides having fought the Veneti at sea another year. The difference between spring and neap tides, which Cæsar puts down as the cause of the disaster, is not enough to account for it. At present spring tides rise 16 feet at Deal and neap tides $12\frac{1}{2}$. On the other side of the Channel the tides rise higher and there is more difference between spring and neap tides. At Boulogne, spring tides rise $25\frac{1}{4}$ feet, neap tides $19\frac{3}{4}$; at Calais, spring 21, neap $17\frac{1}{2}$. The war ships which had been drawn up on the beach were filled with water, and the transports were held down by their anchors and dashed together by the wind. Many of the ships were broken to pieces and the others rendered unserviceable. The army was dismayed. They could get no other ships to take them back, and they had no means of repairing the damaged ones. They had

brought no corn for the winter, because they meant to go back to Gaul. This description of the state of the fleet must be rather overdrawn. Cæsar managed in a few weeks to repair it and to take back his forces to Gaul. Still he must have been in a very critical position.

(4.30.) The British chiefs had been inclined to submit after they had been beaten in the fight (4.27), but changed their minds now that Cæsar had lost his ships and had been disappointed about his cavalry and appeared to be short of corn. They determined to raise a rebellion, as Cæsar calls it, and to refuse to supply him with food.

(4.31.) Cæsar suspected the designs of the Britons and determined to prepare for the worst, that was, having to winter in the island. He sent out his army daily to steal corn and cattle from the fields. This was an act of war within a few days of making a treaty. The Britons had done nothing to provoke it, but it was a case of steal or starve with Cæsar. He broke up some of the ships that were most damaged to repair the others, and sent to Gaul for things that were wanted to refit the ships. He managed to repair enough to take his army back in one trip. The Britons did not hurry about sending in their hostages. They were evidently waiting to see how matters turned out.

(4. 32.) The 7th legion was out one day, stealing corn as usual, and not thinking of being attacked. Some of the men were working in the fields, while others went backwards and forwards between the fields and the camp. “Hominum” in this place clearly means Romans, and not Britons as has been stated by some. What the men are described as doing is exactly what the Romans would be doing under the circumstances. Besides, we know (4. 30) that the Britons were leaving off coming to the camp and were deserting the fields. The Britons had laid a trap for Cæsar and he walked into it. They had cut their corn everywhere in the neighbourhood except in one place. Then they hid in the woods round about, ready to pounce upon the Romans when they were not in fighting order. It happened just as they expected. The Romans came to the place and scattered over the fields, leaving their arms on the ground, and as the corn was cut some of them carried it to the camp. The British cavalry and chariots surprised and surrounded those who were at work in the fields, killed a few, and confused the others by their mode of fighting, which was new to the Romans. In the next chapter (4. 33) Cæsar describes the fighting from chariots, and the difficulties that his men had to contend with. The guard at the gate of the camp reported to Cæsar that there was an

unusual quantity of dust in the direction that the legion had taken. He guessed at once what had happened, and immediately started for the fight with the two cohorts that were on guard. He ordered two other cohorts to take their place and the remaining six to follow him. On arriving at the field he found his men hard pressed and scarcely able to hold their ground. The legion was huddled together and darts were being thrown in from all sides. He arrived just in the nick of time to save his men from destruction. The enemy were checked and his men recovered from their fright. After this, thinking that it was a bad time for attacking or fighting a battle, he held his ground for a short time and then retired into camp. The British version of the story would probably be, that they defeated him and drove him back to his camp. He was in a most dangerous position, having only left two cohorts, one-tenth of his army, in the camp, a number quite insufficient to defend it. The Britons might have broken in and burned or damaged his ships if he had not returned at once. All the Romans who were in the fields took part in the fighting, "reliqui," those who were on the road went back to camp. There is no reason for translating "reliqui" the Britons, as has been done. The sentence is shortly this: while some of our men were doing one thing, the

rest were doing something else. Dion Cassius gives a very different description of this affair.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xxxix. cap. lii.—But the Romans meanwhile, having suffered severely through a storm which had shattered their ships already arrived, as well as those which were on the passage, the Britons changed their purpose; and although they did not openly attack them, for the camp was strongly defended, yet intercepting such as had been sent out, as though into a friendly country, for provisions, they killed them, with the exception of a few, whom Cæsar speedily succoured.

There is a passage in Orosius which makes Cæsar's losses very heavy. It does not refer to this fight, but to the expedition altogether.

Orosius, *Hispani adversus Paganos Historia*, lib. vi. cap. ix.—Ubi acerba primum pugna fatigatus, deinde adversa tempestate correptus, plurimam classis partem, et non parvum numerum militum, equitatum vero pene omnem disperdidit.

(4. 33.) Cæsar describes the manner of fighting from chariots. I shall not attempt to translate it. He says that darts were thrown from them. He mentions the pole and the yoke, so there must have been two horses, as in all other chariots. He does not say how many men they contained or whether they were armed with scythes. Diodorus Siculus settles the first point, the second we have no direct information about.

Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. ii.—In their journeys and fights they use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry a charioteer and a soldier, and when they meet horsemen in

battle, they fall upon their enemies with their saunians [a kind of dart]; then quitting their chariots, they to it with their swords. There are some of them that so despise death, that they will fight naked, with something only about their loins.

As to scythes, we are obliged to be satisfied with negative evidence. Neither Cæsar nor any other writer mentions them on chariots in his time. I think that it is impossible that Cæsar and the others should not have mentioned them if they were there. British and Belgic chariots are mentioned in the following places, in writings before the date of the invasion of Claudius.

Virgil, *Georgicon*, lib. iii. v. 202 [in a passage addressed to a horse]:—

Hic vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi
Sudabit spatia, et spumas aget ore cruentas
Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.

Cicero, *Epistolæ ad familiares*. Ad Trebatium, ep. 6.—
Tu qui ceteras cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essidariis decipiaris caveto.

Ad id., ep. 7.—In Britannia nihil esse audio, neque auri, neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquo suadeo capeas, et ad nos quam primum recurras.

Ad id., ep. 10.—Sed tu neque in oceano natare volueris neque spectare essedarios.

Sextus Aurelius Propertius (A.D. 2), lib. ii. el. 50, v. 83.—

Mæcenæ nostræ spes invidiosa juventæ,
Et vitæ et mori gloria justa meæ:
Site forte meo ducet via proxima busto,
Esseda cælatis siste Britannia jugis.

Strabo, book iv. chap. v. par. 2.—In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Kelts.

A hundred years later the Britons had scythes on their chariots. Pomponius Mela mentions them in the invasion of Claudius, but he does not use the word “esseda.” He calls them by three other names.

Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. cap. vi.—*Dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallice armati. Covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur.*

The earliest records of chariots used for fighting are in Egyptian paintings and sculptures, and in Assyrian sculptures. After this they were used by various Asiatic nations down to the time of Cæsar. Mithridates, King of Pontus, opposed the Romans in Asia, B.C. 73, with 120,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and 100 scythed chariots. The Greeks used them in the Trojan War, B.C. 1200, but there is no mention of their having used them in Greece in historical times. They were not adopted in Europe. The reason may have been partly the difference in the ground. We have no large plains here as in Asia, at least not in the parts of which we know anything in ancient history. Chariots were found to be of no use against well-trained infantry. There is no record that they were ever used in Macedonia, Italy, Cisalpine Gaul,

Spain, or Germany. Cæsar does not mention them in Gaul. In passages just quoted Virgil mentions Belgic ones, and Strabo mentions them among the Kelts, but from Cæsar's not mentioning them it looks as if these might be mistakes; or they may have been a few brought over from Britain. It is a puzzle where the Britons copied their chariots from. It is 1400 miles from Britain to Asia, and I have shown that there is no reason to suppose that the Phœnicians came to England. Besides, they were not a fighting people; and if they did come here, it would be very peculiar that the only mark they left behind them was a war chariot.

(4. 34.) After the fight Cæsar brought his men back to camp. Then followed several rainy days, on which there was no fighting. The Britons were in better spirits after their victory, and collected large numbers of men to attack the camp.

(4. 35.) Cæsar did not want to fight with such an enemy. He knew that he could not hurt them. Whenever they got the worst of it they ran away, and his men could not catch them. He describes their mode of fighting in open order (5. 16). He wanted them to stand up like the Nervii and be killed like men. He drew up his legions in front of the camp. The Britons attacked and were driven off with great slaughter. They could do

nothing against the legions drawn up for battle and with the camp behind them. The Romans pursued them for some distance, and then, having burned and destroyed everything far and wide, they returned to camp.

(4. 36.) The same day the Britons came to Cæsar about the treaty. He does not mention what they said, but we can easily imagine that they complained of his stealing their corn and not going back to Gaul as he had promised. He appears now to have promised to go at once, for he told them to send the hostages to Gaul. The wind being favourable, he sailed from Britain a little after midnight. He must have been afraid of being attacked when part of his men were on shore and part in the ships. If he had been on friendly terms with the Britons, the right time to start would have been early in the morning, so as to have daylight for the whole voyage as well as for embarking and disembarking. Dion Cassius again comes to our assistance with a description of the end of the invasion.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xxxix. cap. li. liii.—Cæsar in truth had no intention to grant them peace; but as the winter was approaching, and he had not sufficient forces present to carry on the war during its continuance, moreover as the fleet he expected had failed to reach its port, and the Gauls in consequence of his absence had become tumultuous, he reluctantly entered into a treaty with

them ; demanding still more hostages, though he received but a small number.

He then sailed back to the continent, and quieted the commotions there ; having gained no advantage to himself or to the state from Britain, except the glory of having conducted an expedition against it. Of this, indeed, he spoke in very lofty terms himself, and the Romans at home entertained a wonderfully high opinion. For seeing that places before unknown were now made manifest, and a region hitherto unheard of now rendered accessible to them ; they indulged the hope of success as if it were already a reality, and looking upon whatever they expected to achieve as now in their possession, they gave way to joy ; and on this account they decreed a festival of twenty days' continuance.

Cæsar mentions as a reason for leaving Britain that the equinox was near, but there is no means of fixing the exact day of his return. Cicero's letter *Ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. 17, which looks as if it might have been written this year, has been decided to belong to the next. Two of the transports were not able to reach the same ports as the other ships and were driven down the coast.

(4. 37.) The soldiers from these two transports were attacked by the Morini. Cæsar sent to assist his men and the enemy ran away.

(4. 38.) The next day Cæsar sent Labienus with the two legions which had been in Britain to punish the Morini. He was able to catch most of them on account of the dryness of the marshes. The place to which the two transports were driven down channel may have been Ambleteuse. I

have shown that inland from this was formerly water, and is now marsh. Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Cotta, who had been sent with their legions to the country of the Menapii (4. 42), having ravaged it with fire and sword, now returned. On receipt of Cæsar's letters the senate decreed a festival of twenty days, which was longer than any previous one.

We will now consider the results of this invasion. Cæsar (4. 20) gives as his reason for going to Britain :—

Et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset.

He gained the information that he wanted upon all these matters, and up to this point his reconnaissance in force was successful. He learned what sort of men he had to deal with. He learned about the country, that is, as we shall see in the next invasion, he must have learned that at the place where he landed the first time there was not drinking water enough for five legions and cavalry, but that water might be found in a river rather more than twelve miles off. He learned that the port of Dover, though good, could not be used in the presence of an enemy. It was hardly large enough for his fleet the second year. He must have seen Richborough, but not found fresh water enough

there for his purpose. In other respects the expedition was not a success. His cavalry did not reach Britain. He had great difficulty in effecting a landing. His ships were lost or damaged from his ignorance of maritime matters. His army was more than once in danger of destruction. He had to leave Britain without receiving most of the hostages that he had ordered, and to embark in the night for fear of being attacked. He had underestimated the fighting powers of the Britons, and had not taken enough men with him to carry out the operation safely. One of the essentials for a reconnaissance in force is that troops should be able to retire easily at any time. This power was wanting in this case, and Cæsar had not brought his baggage or provisions for the winter.

If the reader thinks that Cæsar has been too hardly used in this and other chapters, he should read *Cæsar's Commentaries* by Anthony Trollope, Ancient Classics series. It is not quite a translation, but may be described as Cæsar done into English, for the benefit of those who cannot read Latin, with remarks. The book is pleasant reading, and the writer expresses very strong opinions about Cæsar's conduct.

CHAPTER XII

CICERO'S DATES

THERE are not supposed to be many fresh ideas in this chapter. In many books it has been shown that the dates of some of Cæsar's movements are fixed by Cicero's letters. One book mentions some of these dates, other books mention others. I have not found any book where the whole of the dates are discussed. It may have been done several times, but it is practically impossible to look through the notes in all the editions of Cicero, and all the editions of Cæsar.

Cicero's letters do not help as to dates in the first invasion, but give a number of dates for the second invasion. These letters show that Cæsar's landing was much later than would be supposed from reading his narrative. The dates do not depend upon any one letter of Cicero's, and there can hardly be a mistake about them. Although the date of Cæsar's landing is nowhere exactly stated, it is possible to fix it within very narrow limits. It was not earlier than 15th July or later

than 6th August, and probably between 25th July and 1st August.

The first letter that helps us is one to his brother Quintus, in which Cicero says that he has received a letter from him on 2nd June, dated Placentia, and another from him and one from Cæsar on 3rd June, dated Blandanone.

Cicero, *Quinto fratri*, lib. ii. e. xv.—A. d. iii. Non. Jun. quo die Rumam veni, accepi tuas litteras, datas Placentia; deinde alteras postridie, datas Blandanone cum Cæsar's litteris, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. . . . Litteræ vero ejus una data cum tuis, quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit et recordatio veteris amoris; . . . Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis pencillo meo.

Placentia, now Placenza, is in the south of Cisalpine Gaul, about halfway from east to west. Blandanone is not known, but from this letter it appears to be near Placentia, which is 250 miles north-west of Rome. We may therefore conclude that Cæsar was near Placentia a little before the end of May. This letter has been decided to be written in B.C. 54. The following tables give the sequence and dates of the letters.

Cicero, *Letters*. A Table of Reference. Schultz, London, 1829.

lib. ep.		lib. ep.	
140	Q. 2. 15 to Σξεργαξετα	142	A. 4. 15
141	Q. 2. 15 from Calamo, part being lost.	143	D. 7. 9

	lib. ep.
144	Q. 2. 16
145	D. 7. 9
146	Q. 3. 1
147	D. 7. 16
148	D. 1. 9
149	A. 4. 16

	lib. ep.
150	D. 7. 17
151	Q. 3. 2
152	Q. 3. 3
154	Q. 3. 4
155	Q. 3. 7
156	Q. 4. 17

The Correspondence of Cicero, B. R. Tyrrell, Dublin, 1879.

	lib. ep.	
Q. 2. 13		B.C. 54
A. 4. 15		„
A. 4. 16		„
Q. 2. 16		„
Q. 3. 1		„
A. 4. 17		„

	lib. ep.	
Q. 3. 2		B.C. 54
Q. 3. 3		„
Q. 3. 4		„
A. 4. 18		„
Q. 3. 7		„

The next letter is one to Atticus, which shows the date at which Cicero did not know for certain that his brother was in Britain, but thought that he must be there.

Ad Atticum, lib. iv. ep. 15.—Nunc Romanos res accipe. A. d. iii. Non. Quint. Sufenas et Cato absoluti. Procilius condemnatus. . . . Redii Romam Fonteii causa a. d. vii. Idus Quint. . . . Fænus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum est bessibus. . . . Hæc ego pridie scribebam, quam comitia fore putabantur. Sed ad te v. Kal. Sext si facta erunt et tabellarius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam. . . . Deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. . . . Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor, jam eum esse in Britannia.

Procilius was condemned in 54, and Scaurus was acquitted 2nd September 54. This fixes the year. Cicero says that he returned to Rome 9th July, and that something else happened 15th July This

shows that his letter was written after 15th July. He says that he will write if the comitia are finished by 27th July. He is writing the day before the comitia began. We do not know how long the comitia lasted, but may safely allow them some days. So that this letter may have been written as early as 16th July, or as late as 24th July. From quotations that will be given later on, it will be seen that letters from Britain took from 20 to 34 days to reach Rome. Therefore the earliest that a letter could have been written from Britain without Cicero's receiving it is 33 days before 16th July, that is, 13th June. The latest that a letter could have been written from Britain without Cicero's receiving it is 20 days before 25th July, that is, 4th July. Consequently, the date at which Quintus was not in Britain was some day from 13th June to 4th July. This shows that there is nothing improbable in the date when Cæsar was said to be near Placentia. After leaving that place he travelled across Gaul, and invaded the country of the Treviri, and waited 25 days for a wind before he sailed for Britain (5. 7).

The next letter is the first in which Cicero knows that Quintus is in Britain.

Quinto fratri, lib. ii. ep. 16.—Quo die hæc scripsi, Drusus erat de prævaricatione a tribunis ærariis absolutus, in summa, quatiùs sententiis cum senatores et equites damnassent. Ego

eodem die post meridiem Vatinius eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Sept rejecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statem exercebitur; cui nos non deerimus. . . . Venio nunc ad id, quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam litus insulæ. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus expectatione ea quam metu. Quos tu situs quas naturas rerum et locorum, quas mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes.

Besides his now knowing that Quintus was in Britain, the statement that he was writing on the day that Drusus was acquitted shows that the letter was written after the one last quoted, *Ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. 6, which was written from 16th to 24th July, because he was then looking forward to the trial of Drusus. Unfortunately the exact day upon which Drusus was acquitted is not known. Neither is the day known upon which Vatinius was tried. There are two statements which show that the letter was written before September. The comitia are put off to September. The trial of Scaurus will come on immediately. It is known that he was acquitted 2nd September 54 B.C. The latest possible day upon which this letter can have been written by M. T. Cicero is 31st August. Twenty days before this is 11th August, and that is the latest day upon which Quintus can have written his letter. From the way that Cicero mentions the comitia and Scaurus, it is more likely that Cicero's

letter was written a few days earlier; and looking at Cæsar's description of the landing, fortifying the camp on the shore, the night march, the fight, and fortifying the camp on the river, Quintus can hardly have written and sent off the letter till a day after the landing. The landing cannot have been later than 8th August.

When we consider that Cæsar was near Placentia a little before the end of May, and that after that he travelled to the country of the Morini, inspected his various camps and the ships that had been built, marched with troops to the country of the Treviri, settled matters with them, marched back again, and was detained 25 days waiting for a wind, we must come to the conclusion that two months is the shortest time that we can allow for all this, and place the landing not earlier than 25th July.

The next letter to Quintus contained several dates. One helps to the day of landing, and others to subsequent events.

Quinto fratri, lib. iii. ep. 1, § 1. 1.—In Arcano a. d.; iiii. Idus Sept fui.

§ 2. 4.—Idibus Sept in Laterio fui.

§ 3. 8.—Venio nunc ad tuas litteras; quas plurimis epistolis accepi, dum sum in Arpinati. Nam mihi uno die tres sunt reditæ, et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te datæ tempore; una pluribus verbis, in qua plurimum erat, quod antiquior dies in tuis fuisset adscripta litteris quam in Cæsar's. Id facit Oppius nonnunquam necessario, ut cum tabellarios

constituerit mittere litterasque a nobis acceperit, aliqua re nova impediatur et necessario serius, quam constituerat, mittat, neque nos datis jam epistolis diem commutari curemus.

§ 3. 10.—De Britannicis rebus, cognovi ex tuis litteris, nihil esse nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus.

§ 4. 11.—Rescripsi epistolæ maximæ.

§ 4. 12.—Venio ad tertiam.

§ 4. 13.—Quarta epistola mihi redita est Id. Sept. quam a. d. iiii. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas.

§ 4. 14.—Romam cum venissem a. d. xiii. Kal. Octob. absolutum offendi in ædibus tuis tectum.

§ 5. 14.—Ad urbem accessit a. d. xii. Kal. Octobr.

§ 5. 17.—Cum hanc jam epistolam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. Kal. Octobr. vicessimo die. . . . Sed ad tuas venio litteras, Primum tuum. . . .

§ 5. 18.—Quod interiore epistola scribis me Idib. Sept. Pompeio legatum iri.

§ 7. 23.—Quod multos dies epistolam in manibus habui propter commemorationem tabulariorum, ideo multa conjecta sunt aliud alio tempore, velut hoc.

§ 7. 24.—Gabinus a. d. iiii. Kal. Octobr. noctu urbem introivit.

§ 7. 25.—Ex Britannia Cæsar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras, quas ego accepi a. d. iiii. Kal. Octobr. satis commodas de Britannicis rebus; quibus me admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit.

All the passages with dates have been given, whether they appear to be important or not. § 7. 23 shows that the letter was written at different dates. One of these, 1st October, is mentioned in § 5. 17; § 3. 8 appears to mean, "I have received three letters from you, in separate covers, sent off on the same day." In § 4. 11 he says that

he has answered the longest letter. This must be the one that he answered in his letter to Quintus, lib. ii. ep. 16. In § 4.13 he says, "I received on 13th September your fourth letter from Britain, sent off 10th August." In § 2.4 he says that he was in Laterio on that day, but that place is not known. Now if Cicero received four letters in separate covers, we must suppose that they were written on different days. The last was written on 10th August, so that the first cannot have been written later than 7th August, and it cannot have been written on the day of landing, so that the landing cannot have been later than 6th August.

In the same letter, § 5.17, Cicero says: "As I was closing this letter on 1st October, I received your letter on the 20th day," so that the letter was sent off 10th September. Cicero did not close his letter on that day, as he explains in § 7.23. In § 5.18 he says that Quintus wrote him another letter on 13th September. In § 7.25 Cicero says that on 28th September he received a letter from Cæsar in Britain dated 1st September, in which he says that Quintus had not come back to the sea with him. From this it looks as if Quintus was in the camp by the river up to 10th August. He then went with Cæsar to the north of the Thames and the town of Cassivelaunus. Cæsar hurried back to the sea because the camp was in

danger, and reached it in time to write a letter on 1st September. Quintus came back more slowly with the main body of the army and the prisoners and booty. He reached the coast in time to write a letter on 10th September. The thirty-one days from 10th August to 10th September appear to be enough for this expedition. From the camp by the river to the Thames, 70 miles, might be done in seven days, and the journey back in the same time. Cæsar gives us no idea how far it was from the Thames to the town of Cassivelaunus. There is a general belief that this town was St Albans, but there is nothing in Cæsar or any other ancient writer to support this.

The next letter to Atticus is very unsatisfactory. It is in six parts, which were certainly not all one letter. Part was written 4th July, and part 30th September and 1st October. The part relating to Britain has no date. It looks as if the letter from Quintus, which is mentioned in it, was written after the return from the Thames.

Ad Atticum, lib. iv. ep. 16.—Ex fratris litteris incredebilla quædam de Cæsaris in me amore cognovi; eaque sunt ipsius Cæsaris uberrimis litteris confirmata. Britannici belli exitus exspectatur. Constat enim, aditus insulæ esse munitos munificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi exx mancipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos exspectare.

The next letter shown to be B.C. 54 by the statement that Cato is acquitted.

Ad Atticum, lib. iv. ep. 17.—. . . præsertim Catone absoluto. Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepi a. d. ix. Kalend. Novemb. litteras, confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla preda, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a littoribus Britanniae, proximo a. d. vi. Kalend. Octob. Exercitum Britannia reportabant.

On 24th October Cicero received letters from Quintus and Cæsar, sent off 26th September. The army was being shipped back from Britain. Cæsar says (5. 23) “quod æquinodium suberat.” It has been suggested above that the army was back from the expedition to the Thames on 10th September. This leaves sixteen days from the return to the sailing. Cæsar mentions that there was some delay. (5. 13) “Quas quum aliquamdiu Cæsar exspectasset.”

The arguments that the latest possible day for Cæsar's arrival in Britain was 6th August seem pretty conclusive. The arguments that the earliest possible day for his arrival was 25th July are not so strong, but they are strengthened by the succeeding chapter, which shows the enormous amount of work that Cæsar did before starting. The date of leaving Britain, 26th September, cannot be taken as quite exact. The passage may mean that they were just going to send the army back.

The following table shows the information contained in the letters that have been mentioned.

	Date on which Cicero wrote.	
Q. F. 2. 15	2 June	rec ^d letters from Q. F. at Placentia.
	3 "	" " " and Cæsar " Blandanone.
Att. 4. 15	after 9 July	} expects that Q. F. is in Britain.
	" 15 "	
	before 27 "	
Q. F. 2. 16	" Sept.	rec ^d letters from Q. F. in Britain.
" 3. 1	13 "	" 4th " " dated 10 Aug. "
	1 Oct.	" " " 10 Sept. "
		" " " 13 " "
	28 Sept.	" " " Cæsar 1 " "
		Q. F. did not come back to sea with Cæsar.
A. W. 4. 16	...	end of war expected.
" 4. 17	24 Oct.	rec ^d letters from Q. F. and Cæsar dated 26 Sept in Britain, army leaving Britain.

CHAPTER XIII

SECOND INVASION, START AND LANDING

IN the last chapter we considered only what Cicero wrote which related to dates. Now Cæsar's own writings will be gone through to ascertain the day of starting. They do not point to any exact date, but show that the time stated in the last chapter is likely to be right, between 25th July and 1st August.

(5. 1.) In the consulship of Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, Cæsar left his winter quarters and went to Italy. These two men were consuls in B.C. 54, and consuls came into office on 1st January. Cæsar went to Italy, as he had been accustomed to do in former winters. He explains later that by Italy he means Cisalpine Gaul. The conventions being finished, he went to Illyricum because he had heard that part of the province had been devastated by the Pirusti. He made preparations to attack them. They heard of this and sent ambassadors. He ordered them to send hostages, which they did.

(5. 2.) This affair being settled and conventions having been held, he returned to Cisalpine Gaul, and then to the army. He then went round all the winter quarters and inspected the ships which were being built at the various ports. He marched with four legions and some cavalry to the country of the Treviri.

(5. 3.) About the Treviri.

(5. 4.) Cæsar, not wishing to spend the summer with the Treviri, and everything being ready for the invasion of Britain, came to terms with them and ordered 200 hostages, which were brought to him.

(5. 5.) Cæsar marched to Portus Itius with his legions. The ships were ready to sail.

(5. 6.) About Dumnorix.

(5. 7.) The ships were detained twenty-five days by a north-west wind.

Putting it shortly, this is what Cæsar did this year before starting.

(5. 1.) Went to Cisalpine Gaul.

Held conventions.

Went to Illyricum.

Settled with Pirusti.

(5. 2.) Returned to Cisalpine Gaul.

Held conventions.

Went to Portus Itius and other ports.

Inspected winter quarters and ships.

Marched to the Treviri.

Settled matters with them.

(5. 5.) Marched to Portius Itius.

(5. 7.) Was detained twenty-five days by the wind.

Orosius makes the sailing in spring, but this must be wrong. Cæsar and Cicero are too strong for him.

Orosius, lib. vi. cap. 9.—Quibus iterum in Britanniam primo vere transvectis.

We will now go back to the various statements about the ships.

(5. 1.) Before leaving winter quarters Cæsar gave orders about building ships. In order that they might be loaded more quickly and drawn on shore more easily, they were not to be built so deep as those used in the Mediterranean. He was able to do this because he knew that the movement of the tides made the waves smaller in the Mediterranean. The ships were built wide that they might the better carry cargo and horses. They were all to be *actuariæ*, whatever that may mean.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl. sec. 1.—But in Gaul, under the consulship of the before-mentioned Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, among other preparations, Cæsar built ships of an intermediate size between his own swift-sailing vessels and those of burthen which he had there obtained, that they might be as buoyant as possible, and yet resist the waves; and although left on the strand, should receive no injury therefrom.

(5. 2.) When he came back from Italy he found 600 transports of the new pattern and 28 “naves longæ” built.

(5. 5.) On returning from the Treviri he found that 40 ships had not arrived, but that all the others were ready to start. The ships had been built at various places on the coast.

(5. 8.) When he arrived at Britain, more than 800 ships were in sight at the same time. To make up this number, we must add to the 600 and the 28 mentioned nearly 100 left from the previous year, and several which the superior officers had had built according to their own ideas. Still this does not make up the number, and we must suppose that some arrived from other ports after the time when Cæsar counted 600.

Orosius (A.D. 400), lib. vi. cap. 9.—*Regressus in Galliam, legiones in hiberna dimisit, ac sexcentas naves utriusque commodi fieri imperavit.*

Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* copy Orosius. Nennius says 300 ships, but then he is running on 3's.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl. sec. 1.—As soon, therefore, as the season admitted of sailing, he again passed over into Britain, alledging as a pretext that the Britons had not sent him all the hostages which they had promised, for as he had at that time departed without accomplishing his purpose, they thought he would never attempt them again, but his real motive was a vehement desire of possessing the

island; so that had not this happened, he would easily have found some other pretext.

This does not agree with Cæsar, who tells us (4. 20) that the first invasion was only a preliminary one for the purpose of obtaining information about the people, the country, and the ports. He always meant to come again. He made no excuse about it.

Now comes the question of the port from which Cæsar started. In connection with this it will be well to look carefully into the numbers of his army, because the size of the harbour required depends upon the size of the ships used, as well as their number. Cæsar (5. 8) took to Britain five legions and 2000 cavalry, and left Labienus with three legions and 2000 cavalry to defend or hold the port from which he started. Taking the legion at 4000, Cæsar took 22,000 fighting men and 2000 cavalry horses, besides any horses which might be wanted for transport. He took baggage this time, and there would be a large number of camp followers. We have no means of knowing how many, but we know that they are mentioned as a considerable body in the battle with the Nervii (2. 27). The total number of men taken to Britain must have been considerably over 22,000. It has been shown in the chapter on the Coast of France that the only port from which so large a force has been known

to start is Boulogne. The next largest mentioned in history is Ambleteuse, but that does not appear to have been much used, even for small expeditions. Calais is only a modern artificial port. The other ports between that and Cape Gris Nez, Calais Clifles, Sangatte, and Wissant are believed to have been small; at any rate they were small in more modern times. They may have been larger in Cæsar's time, but size alone is no use. There is not on that coast any stream large enough to supply an army of the size of Cæsar's, nor one-half as large.

(5. 2.) *Atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire jubet quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transmissum esse cognoverat, circitur millia passuum triginta a continenti.*

The meaning of the passage appears to be that the Portus Itius was the best place for him to start from. There is no mention of its being the shortest passage, or the same port that he used the year before. The end of the passage shows that it was not the shortest passage—"circiter millia passuum triginta a continenti." Britain is not 30 miles from the continent; it is only 22. The 30 miles more properly refers to the length of the passage. The distances of the ports from Britain are Sangatte 22, Wissant 23, Ambleteuse 26, Boulogne 31, Etaples 46. On the other hand, from Wissant to a little north of Deal, which I consider

to be the landing-place, is 30 miles. This leaves the matter much where it was, except that Etaples is out of it. The choice is between Wissant and Boulogne. We are therefore thrown back to the question which of these two was the most suitable port for starting for this expedition. I have shown that, as far as our information goes at present, Boulogne was suitable, and Wissant was not, both on account of size of harbour and quantity of drinking-water. There probably never would have been any doubt about it if people had not taken up the idea that Cæsar started from the same port both years. The names Gessoriacum and Bononia do not appear in Cæsar or in any other description of his invasions, and there is nothing in ancient writings to show whether they are the same as Portus Itius or not.

(5. 5.) Having arranged matters with the Treviri, Cæsar returned with his legions to the Portus Itius.

(5. 8.) “His rebus gestis,” having settled all his quarrels with the neighbouring tribes, Cæsar left Labienus on the continent with three legions and 2000 cavalry to defend the ports and look after affairs in Gaul. He started at sunset. He must have brought his ships out of harbour in the daylight. Even in the daylight it would take a great many hours to bring 800 ships out of the harbour.

At night there would be collisions and blocks, and the operation would be nearly impossible. The time of starting was fixed by the tide. It was necessary to start when the water began to run up channel, so as to get the whole benefit of the current to carry the fleet towards Deal.

It has been shown in the chapter on the Coast of Kent and Sussex that calculations as to fixing the date by the flow of the tide are useless, because we do not know that the currents set in the same direction at the same state of the tide in Cæsar's time that they do now. Another reason why this sort of argument is unreliable is that Cæsar's narrative makes it clear that the day of starting was determined by the direction of the wind and his little wars, and not by the state of the moon. He started at sunset, with a gentle south-west wind. About midnight the wind died out. The ships could not be kept in the right direction and drifted a long way with the current. At daybreak Cæsar found that Britain had been left behind on the left hand—"sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit." Daybreak would be about half-past 3 o'clock. Cæsar started at 8 in the evening, and by 3 in the morning he ought to have been close to Britain. The wind failed when he was half-way across the channel, and the current carried him up channel past the North

Foreland, but several miles to the east of it. This is the only meaning that can fairly be made out of Cæsar. Writers who try to prove that he landed to the west of Dover are obliged to leave out the word "relictam." They say that he intended to land somewhere to the west of Dover, but at daybreak found Britain on his left, and then rowed westward to Hythe or Lympne. They appear to think that he was drifting down channel, stern foremost. The word "relictam" makes this supposition impossible. With the turn of the tide he rowed back to Britain, which all the ships reached by about midday, after nine hours' rowing. He went to that part of the island where he had learned the previous summer that there was the best place for landing. He does not say that he landed at the same place as before, but Dion Cassius tells us that he did. In the first invasion the Britons kept him very close to his camp. What he could have learned was limited to a few miles each way. Westward of Walmer there is no possible landing-place within that distance except Dover and Folkestone, and the description of the landing-place, (5.9) "*littore molli et aperto*," does not suit these. Northward from Walmer as far as Sandwich there is only one good stream, and that is the one which he used for drinking the first year. Beyond Sandwich there are only the Stour and the Little

Stour, both of which were then salt for many miles above where they ran into the strait, and Cæsar does not tell us that he went up a river. He must have landed near the same stream as the year before, because there was no other suitable place to land at which at all agrees with his description. In talking about the place of landing, it must be remembered that a large fleet cannot run on shore at one point. Supposing Cæsar's ships to have been 12 feet wide, and to have run ashore with 12 feet between each two, the fleet would have stretched over $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. No enemy was seen at the landing-place, but Cæsar afterwards learned from captives that they had been there, but that they had been frightened at the number of the ships and had retired to the higher ground.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl. sec. 1.—He landed at the same place as before, no one daring to resist him, both on account of the multitude of his ships, and because they reached the shore on many points at once; and immediately fortified his naval station.

(5. 9.) Cæsar disembarked his army and chose a good place for a camp. He learned from captives where the forces of the enemy were. We do not know how he made the captives. As there had been no fighting they were probably non-combatants taken in the fields or villages. Cæsar does not mention any towns or villages in these parts, but

tells us (5. 12) “*Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia fere Gallicis similia.*” He does not give us any idea whether these houses were scattered over the country or in villages. Later on he gives a description of a British oppidum, but it was not like a town, and he seems to use the word because he could not find a better.

(5. 9.) Cæsar left as a guard to the ships ten cohorts and 300 cavalry, and placed Quintus Atrius in command of these troops. Ten cohorts are equal to one legion, but it must not be supposed that these cohorts were one legion. They were taken from all the legions. A legion is a permanent body, ten cohorts form a temporary body. A military man could not call a legion ten cohorts. Having made up his mind how many men he wanted to leave in the camp, Cæsar might either have left one whole legion or two cohorts from each of the five legions. For military reasons he chose the latter course. A legion remains a legion and retains its name or number, even though two cohorts have been detached from it. After this time when Cæsar speaks of the legions he means the five legions that he took inland, and not the ten cohorts that he left on the shore. The officer in command of the ten cohorts, Quintus Atrius, was not a legate. Ten cohorts from different legions do not make a legion; they still remain parts of

the legions from which they were taken. Want of military knowledge has caused some writers to go astray in translating (5. 11). They cannot understand Cæsar's movements in that chapter. There really is no difficulty about them. Cæsar was not anxious about his ships because he had left them anchored "*litore molli et aperto.*" The English of this is not clear. Soft ground may be good for anchorage, but an open coast is bad for anchoring near, whether we understand it to mean open to the sea, or not enclosed by cliffs or hills. The expression that he used about the landing-place in his first invasion (4. 23) was "*aperto et plano litore.*" Subsequent events showed that the anchorage was not so safe as he thought.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NIGHT MARCH

IF the wind had not failed, Cæsar would have have arrived in Britain shortly after daybreak, and would have had the whole day before him to make a camp or do anything that he wanted. In consequence of the wind failing, the fleet drifted up channel and did not reach the landing-place till about midday, nine hours late. The landing of troops and stores and getting them into a safe place would take some hours, and the camp would be made.

(5. 9.) Cæsar now did a most unusual thing. He began his march into the enemy's country at midnight, "*de tertia vigilia.*" The words might mean anything from midnight to 3 in the morning, but the subsequent narrative shows that he must have started at midnight. This question of the night march has never been thoroughly discussed because no description of Cæsar's invasions has been written by an English military man. By

order of the Emperor Louis Napoleon two French officers wrote a book entitled *Jules Cesar*. This book goes very thoroughly into Cæsar's doings in Gaul, but hardly mentions England, and is of no assistance in studying his movements in England. An American officer, Colonel Theodore Dodge, wrote a book *Great Captains—Cæsar*, but he wisely abstained from saying much about England. He would certainly have made mistakes which would have been found out by people knowing the country better.

The Royal United Service Institution has no book about Cæsar in its library. A night march is a movement that should only be undertaken for the strongest reasons. Unless the country is quite open or there are roads, there is great danger of the troops going in the wrong direction and losing their way. Before the late South African war night marches were almost unheard of. The taking of Tel-el-Kebir by a night march was considered at the time to be a great feat, though the desert was level and there were no obstructions. Cæsar would not have started on a night march without a very strong reason, and he must have known exactly where he wanted to go to. It cannot have been the desire to attack the enemy that made him move at night. Their forces were insignificant and might have been approached more safely by

day. As it was, he did not reach them till daylight. The only reason possible for the night march was want of water to drink. Cæsar must have found out the year before, that although the stream north of Deal supplied water enough for two legions, it did not supply enough for five legions and 2000 cavalry and their horses and transport. It is also certain that he would not have started on this night march unless he knew exactly where the water was to be found. The object of the first invasion was to find out, among other things, where a large army could subsist, and a party of his soldiers may have reached the river Stour at Canterbury. I quote again the passage from Suetonius which seems particularly applicable here :—

Suetonius, *De vita Cæsarum*. Divus Julius, 58.—In obseundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit unquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset.

The Little Stour is too small a stream to supply an army with water in July or August, when it is at its lowest, and we know that this year was very dry.

(5.24.) Quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat.

The Stour at Fordwich was salt, and it may have been salt a little higher up, so that there is no probability of Cæsar reaching the river below Canterbury. The present road from Deal to Canterbury is supposed to have been an old British road and is known as the Pilgrims' Way. From Deal the road goes to Great Mongeham, and then turns to the right to Northbourn. From Northbourn to Patricksbourn on the Little Stour, 9 miles, it runs nearly in a straight line. It does not strike the eye on the map as a Roman road, but it does not in any place diverge a quarter mile from the straight line from one place to the other. At Patricksbourn it changes direction and goes straight to Canterbury. The change of direction at Patricksbourn shows that the road from each end went direct to the ford at that place. If the road had reached the Little Stour lower down the fording would have been more difficult. If they had gone further inland, Barham Down would have come in the way, 200 or 300 feet high at this end. There might not have been much difficulty in fording the Little Stour below Patricksbourn in summer, but the best road from Deal to Canterbury in ancient times is sure to have been the one that could be used all the year round.

Cæsar started at midnight, having learned from

captives where the forces of the enemy were posted, and he came on them 12 miles from the sea. He therefore knew that he should not stumble upon them in the dark, and that they could not attack him in flank before it was light. He marched 12 miles in the night. This cannot mean before it was light. On 1st August it was daylight by half-past 3, and he could not possibly have marched the distance in that time.

Infantry Drill, 1893, part viii. sec. 178, p. 183.—Night Marches. It is not safe to allow for a force of 1000 men making good more than 1 mile per hour at night over an undulating and roadless country.

On a road troops may march two miles an hour at night. The larger the force, the slower it will move.

The enemy had retired to the higher ground, and Cæsar came upon them when he had marched 12 miles. This would be about 2 miles before he reached the Little Stour at Patricksbourn, near Adisham. The Britons were on his left on Barham Down. It cannot have been nearer to Canterbury than this, because there is no ground on the left higher than the road that Cæsar would take from Patricksbourn to Canterbury. The enemy having gone on to the river with cavalry and chariots, threatened the Roman flank from the higher

ground and began the attack. There has been a dispute as to whether the river mentioned was the Stour or the Little Stour, and several places on the Stour have had their supporters, for instance Grove Ferry, where the Stour then ran into the estuary, Sturry opposite Fordwych, and Chilham some miles above Canterbury. At Grove Ferry and Sturry the water was salt, and the whole army would have died there in a few days. Chilham is more difficult to reach than Canterbury and offers no advantages. Having decided that Cæsar had gone along the road to within 2 miles of Patricksbourn, it is a matter of very little importance whether the British cavalry and chariots went on to the Little Stour or the Stour. It does not appear what reason they had for going to either. Cæsar was stopped, not by the troops in front, but by the troops on his flank. An army on the march along a road is in a bad formation for fighting. It is stretched out to a great length. An English army of the same size as Cæsar's, marching along a road, without baggage, would be four miles long. This is the nominal length in the daytime; at night it would be much longer. As soon as Cæsar found that there was a chance of his being attacked in flank, he was bound to halt his advanced guards and form them in order of battle. If the enemy were not strong, he might detach a force sufficient

to dislodge them and continue the march with the rest of the army. The fighting does not appear to have been very serious, as the Britons were driven back by the Roman cavalry and hid in the woods. They retired to a place excellently fortified by nature and art. The entrances or approaches were closed by felled trees. "Introitus" is not very definite, and the description leaves a good deal to the imagination. There may have been an earthwork with the gates closed with stumps of trees; or the trees may have been cut down and left with their branches on in the approaches to the fortification. The Britons made sallies out of the wood in loose order and for some time prevented the Romans entering the fortification. After a time the Romans took the place and drove the Britons out into the woods, only receiving a few wounds themselves.

Dion Cassius's description is very like Cæsar's, though evidently not taken from it. This passage comes immediately after the one quoted about the landing:—

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl. cap. i.—From these causes, therefore, the barbarians were unable to obstruct his landing, and becoming more terrified than formerly, inasmuch as he had arrived with a more numerous army, they conveyed their substance of greatest value into such neighbouring thickets as were most difficult of access; and having placed them in safety, for they cut down the sur-

rounding trees and piled others in layers upon them so as in some degree to resemble a wall, they then infested the foraging parties of the Romans. Being worsted, however, in a certain battle in the open country, they enticed the Romans, in the pursuit, to their fastness; and thence in turn killed many of them.

The last part of this refers to fighting which I discuss in another chapter.

Cæsar would not allow his men to follow the Britons far, because he did not know the country and because a great part of the day was spent. He wished to have time to fortify his camp. The fighting must have lasted much longer than appears from his narrative. After calling his men back from the pursuit of the Britons, some time would be required for rest and a meal. Then the army would have to march, if I am right, five or six miles to Canterbury, and fortify a camp.

At this point many writers have gone wrong, supposing that there was only one camp, the one on the seashore. They appear to think that Cæsar marched his army out at night 12 miles to fight a few Britons, and then marched them back again. This makes Cæsar's subsequent statements quite unintelligible. He really had two camps: the one on the shore for the guard to the fleet, ten cohorts and 300 cavalry; the other on the river Stour at Canterbury for the main body of the army, five legions and 1700 cavalry. Cæsar speaks of this

main body as the legions. The main body left the shore twelve hours after landing because there was not enough water there for them to drink, marched 12 miles and more to a river, formed a camp there, and remained there till the march to the Thames. Cæsar does not state it in these words, but no other explanation can be given to agree with his narrative.

(5. 10.) Early the next morning Cæsar sent out infantry and cavalry to pursue the enemy who had run away. When the Romans had gone some way and the last of them were still in sight, mounted messengers came from Quintus Atrius to Cæsar. Scholars are divided as to whether the last of the Britons were in sight of the pursuing forces, or the last of the pursuing forces were in sight of Cæsar. The explanation which gives the most intelligible story is that Cæsar was in the camp by the river, and that when the messengers reached him there, the last of the pursuing forces were not out of his sight. In the first sentence Cæsar uses "eos" for the Britons, and in the second he uses "his" for the Romans. He always uses these words in this way. Sometimes he uses "illi" for the Britons. We might translate the words into "those" and "these," but we arrange our sentences differently. In the second sentence, as "his" means the Romans, it is probable that "extremi" refers to

the same. The Britons have not been mentioned in this sentence. The messengers from Quintus Atrius brought word that a gale had sprung up in the night, and that most of the ships had been damaged or driven on shore. This is just what happened the year before. Cæsar ought not to have allowed such a thing to happen a second time.

(5.11.) Having learned these things Cæsar ordered the legions and cavalry to be recalled from the pursuit. “Ipse ad naves revertitur.” He himself returned to the ships. When Cæsar uses the word “ipse,” he usually means himself without his troops. The legions remained in the camp by the river. He found matters much as the messengers had stated. He found that all but forty ships could be repaired, but that there would be a great deal of work to do. He picked out the mechanics from the legions in the camp by the river and ordered others from the continent. He ordered Labienus to build as many ships as possible in Gaul. He decided that it was best to have all the ships drawn on shore and enclosed in one fortification with the camp. This took about ten days, the soldiers working night and day. The ships were drawn up, the camp strongly fortified, and the same guard left as before. “Ipse eodem, unde redierat, proficiscitur.” He himself went to the same place from which he had returned, that is, the

camp by the river where he had left his legions. We do not find much assistance from other writers about this chapter. Orosius appears to have copied Cæsar.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl. sec. 1.—And after this a tempest having again shattered the enemy's ships, the Britons summoned their allies.

Orosius, lib. vi. cap. ix.—Dum ipse in hostem cum exercitu pergit, naves in anchoris stantes tempestate correptæ, vel collisæ inter se, vel arenio illisæ ac dissolutæ sunt. Ex quibus quadraginta perierunt, ceteræ cum magna difficultate reparatæ sunt.

When Cæsar returned to the camp by the river he found that the Britons had brought together large forces from all sides and had given the chief command to Cassivellaunus, whose territories were north of the Thames and 80 miles from the sea, that is, from where Cæsar landed. There had been continual war between him and the other British states, but upon the arrival of the Romans peace was made between them and he was placed in command.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl. sec. 1.—The Britons summoned their allies, and made an attack upon the Roman station; having given the command to Cassivellaunus, the chief potentate of the island.

CHAPTER XV

NATIVES AND GEOGRAPHY

(5. 12, 13, 14.) THESE paragraphs appear to be out of place. They come after the night march and skirmish, while Cæsar was fortifying his camp at Canterbury, and just before a serious battle. It is very unlikely that Cæsar should have sat down at such a time to write down information, the greater part of which he had received before he came to England. Besides, this (5. 13) about geography should not be between (5. 12) and (5. 14), which hang together. These three paragraphs contain information upon a number of points and should be carefully studied. I do not feel that I can do justice to them.

The first time that Cæsar came to Britain he appears to have known very little about the country or its inhabitants. He could get no information from the merchants who traded with it. There is nothing in his narrative to show that he had ever read a single word about it. He gained some

information for himself that year, and Commius also brought him some. In the succeeding winter he appears to have read up the subject, and he gives us the result in the next three paragraphs.

(5. 12.) Parts of this paragraph are like Diodorus Siculus in Chapter IV. of this book. The interior of Britain is inhabited by those who were born in the island; the coast, by which he means Kent, is inhabited by people who came over from the Belgæ. These latter cultivate the land and have cattle. The country is very thickly populated, and there are numbers of houses like those in Gaul. Cæsar tells us that some huts were thatched with straw in the Gallic fashion, but this is all that we know about them. Strabo is sometimes quoted to explain Cæsar, but he lived eighty years too late, and eighty years of peace under the Romans may have made a great difference in houses in Gaul. It is not known whether Strabo is describing houses in his own time or whether he is quoting some older writer.

“Utuntur aut ære.” The word “æse” means either bronze or coin. Whichever it was, they brought it from abroad. They also used iron rings of fixed weight for money. This shows that iron was very valuable with them.

The evidence about coin and precious metals in Britain is conflicting, as will be seen from the

following quotations. Cæsar does not mention receiving either from the Britons, but he says that he ordered tribute.

Cicero, *Ad familiares*, lib. vii. ep. 7.—Ad Trebatium. In Britannia nihil esse audio, neque auri, neque argenti.

Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. 16.—Britannici belli exitus exspectatur. . . . Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis.

Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, lib. iv. ep. 17.—Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepi A.D. IX. Kalend. Novemb. litteras, confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia.

Strabo, *Geography*, book iv. chap. v. par. 2.—The greatest portion of the island is level and woody, although many tracts are hilly. It produces corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron, which things are brought thence, and also skins, and slaves, and dogs sagacious in hunting.

A. G. Peskett, *Cæsar*, note on (5. 12).—According to Mommsen it is certain that there were gold coins in Britain before the Roman invasions.

(5. 12.) —Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed ejus exigua est copiæ.

This passage is not clear. Cæsar (5. 14) says that the whole of Kent is maritime. Therefore the part where tin was found was further inland than Kent. But we only know of tin in Cornwall.

The Britons do not consider it lawful (*fas*) to eat hares, or fowls, or geese, but they keep them for the sake of amusement or sport. They may have kept the hares for coursing and the cocks for cock-

fighting. It is difficult to understand what pleasure they can have had out of geese.

The climate of Britain is more temperate than that of Gaul, the cold being less severe. Modern observations do not confirm this. Strabo also tells us a little about the climate. It is not known who he takes it from, whether from Pytheas or some later writer, possibly after Cæsar's time.

Strabo, *Geography*, book iv. chap. v. par. 1.—Their atmosphere is more subject to rain than to snow; and even on clear days the mist continues for a considerable time, insomuch that throughout the whole day the sun is only visible for three or four hours about noon, and this must be the case also among the Morini and Menapii, and among all the neighbouring people.

(5. 13.) The statement that Britain is triangular is from Pytheas or from some one who copied him; and so is the statement that in winter the nights are thirty days in length. The lengths of the sides of Britain given by Cæsar do not agree with those given by any known writer before his time and are nowhere near the truth. The following table shows the lengths stated by various writers. Some give length and breadth, others give the three sides. It must be recollected that in Cæsar's time the Isle of Thanet was not part of Kent, and that Cantium Promontorium must have been the South Foreland, which then projected more than now.

	Sides.			Circuit.
Diodorus Siculus . . . stadia	20,000	15,000	7,500	
Strabo . . . . .	...	...	5,000	
„ Pytheas . . . stadia	20,000			
„ „ . . . . .	...	...	...	over 40,000
„ „ . . . stadia	4,400			
Cæsar m.p.	800	700	500	2,000
Pliny, M. Pytheas, and Isodorus . .	...	...	...	3,850
„ Agrippa m.p.	800	...	300	
Solinus „	800	...	...	4,875
Orosius „	800	...	200	
Real size „	660	605	363	1,628

Cæsar makes the usual mistakes as to which way the sides of Britain face, evidently copying some other writer. He says that the end of one side points east. This is in Kent where the ships arrive from Gaul. The other end of this side points south. The next side looks to Spain and the west. The third side looks north, where there is no land, but the end of this side points to Germany. He is nearly right about Ireland. He says that there are also many smaller islands in which some writers say that the night is thirty days long in winter. He did not find anything to confirm this, but by using accurate water-clocks he ascertained that the nights in Britain in summer were shorter than on the continent. This last appears to be the only statement in these three paragraphs that he made from his own observation.

(5. 14.) “Ex his longe sunt humanissimi.” There

is nothing in the preceding paragraph for "his" to refer to. This sentence only makes sense if it follows the second sentence in (5.12). These sentences read shortly thus: Some of the Britons live inland. Others live on the coast. Of these those who live on the coast are "humanissimi." By this word he may mean that they were most civilised according to the Roman idea of civilisation. But he says they were like the Gauls, and his descriptions of them seem to show a very rough state of society. The Britons who live inland for the most part do not sow corn. All Britons stain themselves with blue in battle. They wear their hair long, and shave the whole of the body except the head and the upper lip. They must have been very hairy to want to shave the whole of their bodies. Sir Harry Johnston mentions something of the same sort in his book on South-West Africa, and also in his book on South-East Africa. He says that the natives are very careful to pull all the hairs out of their bodies, or to get their friends to do it for them.

Frederick Seebohm, in his book *The English Village Community*, thinks that he sees in Cæsar a reference to the two systems of land tenure which were in force in later times. The people near the coast who grew corn probably held their land on the open field system. Those inland, who did not

grow corn, but depended upon their cattle for subsistence, held on the tribal system. Five hundred years after Cæsar those who dwelt near the coast of Kent grew corn, and those who lived far inland did not. Seebohm thinks that he can trace back the system through the Roman occupation.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BATTLES

CÆSAR now goes back to the time at the end of (5. 11), when he had returned from the sea to the camp by the river and found Cassivellaunus with a large force of Britons ready to fight him. Cæsar had five legions of eight cohorts each and 1700 cavalry.

(5. 15 and 16.) This is the most important battle that Cæsar fought with the Britons, and it is unfortunate that he does not give us a better description of it, and that the meaning of his words is not clear. We find some assistance from other writers, but still the result is not satisfactory. Taking them all together, we find that there were four occasions this year when the greater part of the Roman troops were engaged: the battle described in (5. 15 and 16); the battle the next day (5. 17); the attack at the ford (5. 18), hardly to be called a battle, because the Britons hardly resisted; and the attack on the town of Cassi-

vellaunus (5. 21). In the first battle the Britons had decidedly the best of it early in the day. They took the Romans by surprise and frightened them. By the end of the day the Romans held their own, but it is quite doubtful which side had the advantage. We have only the Roman account of the fighting. The next day the Britons again surprised the Romans, but the Romans recovered sooner. They were getting used to the British style of fighting, and soon beat the enemy off and chased them, inflicting heavy loss. At the ford the Britons stood still to receive the charge of the Romans. They had no chance against the heavily armed legions and were defeated in a very short time. After this they harassed the Roman army marching north of the Thames. At the attack on the town of Cassivellaunus the Britons were at a disadvantage. The fighting was too close for them. They required open ground to manœuvre their chariots. The Romans soon became accustomed to the chariots, and in a stand-up fight had not much to fear from them. This has been the same in all parts of the world. Well-disciplined and well-armed troops have easily been able to deal with chariots in battle as soon as the novelty of their attack has worn off. Where the British chariots puzzled Cæsar was that they were constantly coming upon him unawares at inconvenient

times. If Cassivellaunus had not made the mistake of collecting together a large quantity of cattle and provisions in one place, the Romans might have been starved. As soon as Cæsar sent out men to forage, the chariots pounced down upon them.

(5. 15.) The cavalry and chariots of the enemy suddenly attacked the Romans upon the march. The only men that we know of who were on the march were Cæsar and the artificers who had been taken from the camp by the river and sent to the coast to repair the ships, and were now returning to the camp on the river. The Romans had the best of the fight and drove the enemy into the woods and hills, killing many of them, but, following too far, they lost some men. After a short time the enemy suddenly rushed out of the woods and attacked the Romans, who were not expecting them, and were occupied in fortifying the camp. They attacked the guard "in statione" in front of the camp, and fought desperately. The same expression "in statione" is used in (4. 32). The first year Cæsar had two legions in Britain. On this occasion one was sent out to forage and the other remained in camp. Some cohorts of this legion were "pro portis castrorum in statione." Cæsar sent these cohorts away, and sent two others "in stationem" to take their place, and ordered the rest

to arm and follow him. In (5. 15) Cæsar says that the enemy attacked those “*qui erant in statione pro castris collocati*.” He sent two cohorts to assist these. The meaning of the words “*atque his primis*” is not understood. The rest of the sentence is not clear. As these two cohorts were standing with only a small interval between them, our men being frightened by this new sort of fighting, the enemy most audaciously broke through between them and then retired unhurt. On that day Quintus Laberius Durus, tribune of the soldiers, was killed. More cohorts were sent forward, and the enemy were driven back. Fortunately, other writers help us.

Dion Cassius, lib. xl. sec. 1.—The Britons summoned their allies, and made an attack even upon the Roman station: having given the command to Cassivelaunus, the chief potentate of the island. The Romans then, coming into conflict with them, were at first thrown into disorder by the shock of the chariots; but afterwards opening their ranks and letting them pass through, and aiming obliquely at the assailing enemy, they retrieved the fight. For a time both parties maintained their position; but afterwards the barbarians, although they were victorious over the infantry, yet being worsted by the cavalry, retreated to the Thames.

Orosius, lib. ii. cap. ix.—*Cæsaris equitatus primo congressu a Britannis victus, ibique Labienus tribunus occisus est. Secundo prælio cum magno discrimine victos Britannos in fugam vertit.*

These two descriptions differ in language and detail from Cæsar's, and Dion Cassius's is certainly

taken from some other source. All three agree that first the Britons had the best of the fight and then the Romans. King Alfred, in his version of Orosius, inserts a passage about the battles. It does not fit in with Cæsar's account; and if it is from tradition, it is not of much value, because Alfred lived nearly 1000 years after Cæsar. Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mention the fighting so slightly that they are not worth quoting.

Orosius, Alfred, book v. chap. xii. par. 2.—When he had overcome them [the Gauls] he went into the island Britain, and fought against the Britons, and was routed in the land which is called Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought again with the Britons in Kentland and they were routed. Their third battle was near the river which is called Thames, near the ford which is called Wallingford. After that battle the king came into his hands, and the townspeople that were in Cirencester, and afterwards all that were in the island.

(5. 16.) In this chapter Cæsar tells us something of the difficulties that his men had to contend with. The fighting took place close to the camp, so that those inside could see that the Roman soldiers were at a disadvantage in fighting with an enemy of this sort because of the weight of their armour, on account of which they could not follow the enemy when they retired, and did not dare to go away from their standards. The Roman cavalry were in great danger because the enemy's chariots often retreated so as to draw them a little away

from the legions, and then the men jumped out of the chariots and fought on foot, which gave them a great advantage. The next sentence about the cavalry is not clear. The British soldiers never fought in close order, but scattered about at wide intervals. They had supports stationed at convenient places. These relieved those who were fighting, fresh men taking the place of those who were tired. It is convenient that Cæsar never attempts to shield the bad behaviour of his men, but rather calls attention to it. After a hard fight the Romans succeeded in driving off the enemy, but they did not follow them. This was very different from the fighting in Gaul. Five legions close to their own camp were in difficulties. Cæsar gives no idea of the numbers of the Britons.

(5. 17.) The Britons did not renew the attack the next morning. At noon Cæsar sent out three legions and all the cavalry to forage. The Britons attacked them suddenly, but the Romans had now become accustomed to the chariots and drove them off, and the cavalry followed them so closely that the men could not alight. Numbers were killed, and after this many of the tribes went home.

A great deal more ought to be made out of these battles, but it requires a soldier to do it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FORD

(5. 18.) CÆSAR marched his army to the river Thames, where it formed the boundary of the territory of Cassivellaunus. This territory is by common consent placed in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and part of Essex. There is no particular reason for including Essex and Hertfordshire any more than Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, and half a dozen counties beyond them. There is no evidence about the size of the country that Cassivellaunus ruled over. Cæsar tells us (5. 9) that it was north of the Thames and 80 miles from the sea, which is understood to mean 80 miles from the place where he landed. We are therefore safe in concluding that Cassivellaunus ruled over Middlesex or part of it. Anything beyond that is uncertain.

Cæsar does not tell us which way he came to the Thames, and no other ancient writer says a word upon this point. It is possible, however, by studying the map, to form a pretty good idea of

which way he must have come. In a previous chapter Cæsar has been brought to Canterbury, and later in this chapter the ford will be shown to be near London, so that the question now to be discussed is, how Cæsar marched from Canterbury to London. The most natural way appears to be along Watling Street, and that is the way which an army would now take in time of peace. In time of war, ships on the river and fortifications might interfere. The army would find plenty of water to drink at all the towns on the way—Faversham, Sittingbourne, Chatham, Gravesend, Dartford, etc. In Cæsar's time it was quite different. There is no reason to suppose that there were any large towns upon this road, though the road itself may have existed. The map shows that from Canterbury to Dartford, 40 miles, there is no stream which could supply an army with drinking-water. The Medway was crossed, but it was salt in this part. There may be small brooks sufficient to supply farms or small villages, and the natives may have had wells or tanks. But these artificial supplies for a small number of people would be of no use to an army. Even taking Cæsar's statement (5. 12), "*Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia*," which appears to mean that houses were scattered all over the country, the water supply of these houses would

have been of no value to his army. Men cannot fall out of the ranks to hunt in backyards for wells or tanks, and the quantity in each house would have been too small to make it worth while to halt the army. On the right-hand side of the road there is plenty of salt water, on the left-hand are the chalk downs, where there is no water except in sheep pools. Therefore the line of march by Watling Street or anywhere near it would have been unsuitable for Cæsar's army.

A better way appears to be to go from Canterbury up the valley of the Stour to Ashford, 12 miles. This would give a good supply of water the whole of that part of the way. From Ashford West to Headcorn on the river Beult, 12 miles. From Ashford, the first few miles would be alongside the Stour, which is here small, and the Beult would be reached a few miles before Headcorn. From Headcorn over the hills to Maidstone on the Medway, 8 miles, or following the course of the Beult and the Medway, 18 miles. From Maidstone down the Medway to Aylesford, 3 miles. A little below this the river is salt. From Aylesford over the hills to Farningham on the Darent, 12 miles. From Farningham to Footscray on the Cray, 5 miles. From Footscray to Lewisham on the Ravensbourn, 7 miles. This is rather a small stream, but that is not important, as it is only 5

miles further to the Thames at London Bridge or Westminster Bridge. By coming this way there is nowhere more than 12 miles without water. The journey might be varied in two places. Instead of going from Headcorn to Maidstone, it would be possible to follow the Beult to its junction with the Medway, and then go up the Medway to Tunbridge, and over the hills to Farningham. This way does not look so good on the map. The country about the Beult is very much cut up by streams, forming islands, and looks swampy. Instead of going from Farningham to Footscray, it might be better to go down the Darent to Dartford, and then along Watling Street through Crayford to London. This might give a better water supply than the higher road.

We will now turn to history to see what assistance we can find there. There is only one invasion that helps us, that of the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa. They landed on the Isle of Thanet, and remained there some time.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 455.—This year Hengist and Horsa fought with Wurtgern the king on the spot that is called Aylesford. His brother Horsa being there slain, Hengist afterwards took to the kingdom with his son Esc.

Note: Ægeletherp. . . . It was a thorp or village near Aylesford.

A.D. 456.—This year Hengist and Esc fought with the Britons on the spot that is called Crayford [in Saxon,

Creccenford], and there slew four thousand men. The Britons then forsook the land of Kent, and in great consternation fled to London.

This is all that is known about this invasion. It is not known how the Saxons came to Aylesford. They may have come by sea and then up the Medway till they ran aground or found fresh water, or they may have come by Canterbury and Ashford. It has been suggested that they came by the coast road and then along the bank of the Medway. But this would have given them 30 miles or more without water to drink.

This argument as to Cæsar's course from the sea to the ford must not be taken as conclusive; it is only a first attempt. It rests upon the assumptions that there were no towns on the way to supply water to the troops, and that the streams were the same size as now. It is the opinion of some people that as the country was much more wooded than now, the rainfall must have been greater and the streams larger. There may also be other weak points in the argument. It is difficult to understand how Cæsar could find out the best way.

From Deal by Watling Street to London Bridge or Westminster Bridge is 74 English or 80 Roman miles. By Ashford and Aylesford the distance is 82 English or 89 Roman miles. Cæsar gives the distance of the Thames from the sea 80 Roman miles.

H. Belloc, *The Old Road*, p. 128.—I have said that from Otford the old road became royal, for it is at Otford that the road from Greenwich, after following the valley of the Darent, falls into the Pilgrims' Way. From Westminster by water to Greenwich, from Greenwich down here to Otford, and thence along the old road to the sea had been a sacred way for kings. . . . By this road, last of so many went Henry VIII. to the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

(5. 18.) Cæsar cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Tamasin in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægre transiri potest.

When Cæsar says that the Thames is only fordable in one place, that must be taken to mean in the part where it skirts the territory of Cassivellaunus. If you go far enough up, it was fordable anywhere in summer before the locks were built. Orosius says that the Romans avoided the ford, which accounts for their heads only being above water as mentioned by Cæsar. Orosius follows Cæsar in saying that the river is only fordable in one place.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. xl.—Ad Tamasin flumen sese receperunt; vadoque sudibus, aliis ex aqua exstantibus, aliis infra eam delitescantibus, præmunito, ipsi eo loco consederunt. Postquam in eos Cæsar violento facto impetu, a transitu, quem obstruxerant, repulit; oppugnatosque, etiam castris, quæ munita habebant, eiecit.

Orosius, *Hispani adversus Paganos Historiarum libri septem*, lib. iv. cap. ix.—Inde ad flumen Thamasi profectus est, quem uno tantum loco vadis transmeabilem ferunt. In hujus ulteriore ripa Cassivellauno duce, immensa hostium multitudo consederat, ripamque fluminis ac pene totum sub

aqua vadum accutissimis sudibus præstruxerat. Quod ubi a Romanis deprehensum ac vitatum est, barbari impetum non ferentes, sylvis se abdidere.

Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, sec. 20.—Et iterum, post spatium trium annorum, venit cum magno exercitu trecentisque ciulis, et pervenit usque ad ostium fluminis, quod vocatur Tamesis. Et ibi inierunt bellum et multi ceciderunt de equis militibusque suis, quia supradictus proconsul posuerat sudas ferreas et semen bellicosum, id est Cetilou, in vada fluminis, quod discrimen magnum fuit militibus Romanorum, et ars invisibilis.

Bede copies Orosius word for word except that he omits the statement that the river is only fordable in one place. He evidently knew that this was not correct. He adds that the stakes were visible in his time, but does not say where they were. No other writer mentions having seen the stakes for more than 800 years after his time, and then the statement is unreliable.

Bedæ, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cap. ii.—Inde ad flumen Tamasim profectus, in hujus ulteriore ripa, Cassobelauno duce, immensa hostium multitudo consederat, ripamque fluminis ac pene totum sub aqua vadum accutissimis sudibus præstruxerat, quarum vestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur, et videtur inspectantibus quod singulæ earum ad modum humani femoris grossæ et circumfusæ plumbo immobiliter erant in profundum fluminis infixæ. Quod ubi a Romanis deprehensum ac vitatum est, Barbari, legionum impetum non ferentes sylvis se obdidere.

King Alfred, in his version of Orosius, goes right away from the original when he comes to describing Cæsar's invasions. He mixes up the two invasions,

and it has even been thought that he has confounded Claudius with Julius Cæsar. We have no idea from what writer he copies the names of places. If it is only from tradition, the statement is not much to be relied upon. He lived 950 years after Cæsar. During that time there had been, the invasion of Claudius and subsequent fighting, the Roman occupation, the Saxon invasion which went on for hundreds of years, and the Danish invasion. During parts of this time writing was hardly known.

Orosius, King Alfred's version, book v. chap. xii. par. 1.—The Romans gave Caius Julius [Cæsar] seven legions, to the end that he might wage war five years on the Gauls.

Par. 2.—When he had overcome them, he went into the island Britain, and fought against the Britons, and was routed in the land which is called Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought again with the Britons in Kentland, and they were routed. Their third battle was near the river which is called Thames, near the ford which is called Wallingford. After that battle, the king came into his hands, and the townspeople that were in Cirencester, and afterwards all that were in the island.

Other versions call the ford Welingaford or Velingaford and the town Cynnceastre. There appears to be some mistake about the names. Wallingford and Cirencester are much too far off.

The following statement of Polyænus is not believed to be true. He wrote 250 years after Cæsar, and no one else mentions the elephant.

Polyæni Stratagematum, book viii. chap. xxiii. sec. 5.—Cæsar attempting to pass a large river in Britain, Cassolaulus, king of the Britons, obstructed him with many horsemen and chariots. Cæsar had in his train a very large elephant, an animal hitherto unseen by the Britons. Having armed him with scales of iron, and put a large tower upon him, and placed therein archers and slingers, he ordered them to enter the stream. The Britons were amazed on beholding a beast till then unknown, and of an extraordinary nature.

Camden has perpetuated the error that the Thames can only be forded at one place, and he originated the idea that the ford was at Coway-stakes, of which there is absolutely no proof. Some of the stakes have been taken up and examined. There is no lead on them, and there is no more reason for saying that they are the stakes at the ford, than stakes found at a number of other places in the Thames, the remains of locks, weirs, wharves and other works. The stakes are placed in a line, and not scattered all about the river as described by Cæsar. The place is a quarter of a mile above Walton Bridge, and 10 miles above Teddington lock.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, p. 213.—Suthrey . . . juxta quas Cæsar Tamesim in fines Cassivelauni transmisit. Hic unus enim omnino locus erat, quo Tamesis pedibus, atque hoc ægre transiri olim poterat, quod ipsi Britanni Cæsari quasi prodiderunt. . . . Hac in re falsus non possum, cum hic vix sex pedes flumen sit altum, cum Coway-stakes a sudibus hodiè locus dicatur, cumque Cassevelani fines a mari quod orientalem Cantii partem alluit, ubi ille terram conscen-

dit, circiter mil. pass. LXXX faciat Cæsar, ubi trajectum statuit, et ad eandem est a mari distantiam hic noster trajectus, cujus memoriam fugitivam nunc primus, quod scio, retraxi.

The tide flows up to Teddington lock. It is not necessary to look for the ford above that place for this reason. Above Teddington lock, the river has been made navigable by building locks. As it was too shallow for navigation, it must have been fordable in many places in summer. If the depth had been 4 feet in the shallowest parts in summer, that would have been deep enough for navigation. The date of building the first locks does not appear to be known. The river was made navigable up to Oxford in 1624. The state of the river may have been different then from what it was in Cæsar's time. More rain is supposed to have fallen in the old times because the woods were larger. Modern drainage of land has made the water run off quicker into the river, and locks prevent it going so quickly from the river into the sea.

It is doubtful whether Brentford means a ford over the Brent or a ford over the Thames where the Brent runs into it. No statement can be found that the Thames was forded here except in a wrong translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It is not surprising that no mention is made of fords in these parts in history. Except under unusual

circumstances, they could only have been used at low water in summer. Ferries could be used at any time of the year or tide, and must have been in use from very early times.

The following extracts refer to unusually low states of the water, and give us quite a different idea of the river from what it now looks like. We may conclude from them that in old times the Thames was fordable at many places between London Bridge and Teddington at low water in summer.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1114.—Also in this same year was so great an ebb everywhere in one day as no man before remembered, and so that men went riding and walking over the Thames to the East of London bridge.

Florentius Wigornensis (Florence of Worcester), A.D. 1114.—VI idus Octobris (10th October) Temesia nihilominus eidem illa die defectu patuit; nam inter pontem et regiam Turrim, sub ponte etiam, in tantum fluminis ipsius aqua diminuta est, ut non solum equi, sed etiam innumerata hominum et puerorum multitudo illud pedibus transvaderent, aqua vix genua eorum attingente. Duravit autem hic aquæ defectus a medio noctis præcedentis usque in profundas tenebras noctis subsequentis.

John Stow, *Annals*, 1615.—1158. An earthquake happened in many places through England; and the river of Thames was dried uppe, that at London men might walk over the same dryshod.

Stow, 1281.—So great a drought that men passed over the river Thames dryshod between Westminster and Lambeth, and over the Medway between Strood and Rochester.

E. J. Lowe, *Natural Phenomena*, 1870, p. 18.—1541.

A remarkable drought; almost all the small rivers dried up, and the river Trent diminished to a straggling brook. The river Thames so low that the sea water even at ebb, extended beyond London Bridge.

Thoresby, 1591.—The Thames, historians say was so dried up, that a man might ride over it on horseback near London Bridge.

John Evelyn, *Memoirs*.—1687, May 14. This day there was such a storme of wind as had seldome happened, being a sort of hurricane. It kept the flood out of the Thames so that people went on foote over several places above bridge. Also an earthquake in several places in England about the time of the storme.

John Stow, *A Survey of London and Westminster*, edited and enlarged by John Strype, 1754, vol. i. p. 58.—And in speaking of this it ought to be taken notice, that this river has several times been blown almost dry so that one on the shore could not see any water in it from London Bridge to Westminster, particularly on the 5th of September 1592, and again on the 14th of September 1716; of the last I was an eye witness. The springs being then low, a strong Westerly wind that had blown all that day, and the preceding night, prevented the tide coming in twenty-four hours, and drove forward the fresh water with that fury that there was only a narrow channel in the middle scarce ten yards wide, and so shallow that thousands of people passed over it on foot.

The following statement appears to refer to the same occasion as the last one mentioned by Stow. There is no date to it, but it is between two entries of 1716 and 1718 :—

History of London, by Wm. Maitland, F.R.S.,
1739, book i. p. 332.—By a long and dry
Lond season the fresh stream of the River Thames
was reduced so low, that by assistance of a

Bridge violent storm of wind, at west south west, it was blown so dry, that many thousands of
 Ledg people passed it on foot, both above and below London Bridge, and thro' most of the Arches.

The following are two descriptions of places found fordable last century :—

History, etc. of Surrey, by Rev. Owen Manning, enlarged by Wm. Bray, 1809, vol. ii. p. 760.—It must not however, be omitted that the Rev. Mr Leman who has bestowed great attention in tracing the Roman roads in this Island, has favoured the editor with his opinion that the passage was effected near the Earl of Dysart's house at Petersham, where the river is fordable, to the opposite shore at Twickenham.

Gentleman's Magazine, 1846, vol. xxvi. p. 256.—A visit to the Portus Itius. We know that this passage of the Thames by the Cæsarean forces occurred in the second of two extremely dry summers of which the droughts (siccitates) are especially noted in the Commentaries; and even now in similar seasons the river becomes fordable at Westminster, as it was on the 19th of this very month, July 1846.

I now go back to what took place at the invasion of Claudius, 100 years after Julius Cæsar's invasions.

Dion Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. lx. p. 678 D.—Inde se barbari ad flumen Tamasin, qua is in Oceanum se exonerat, eoque affluente stagnat, receperunt; eumque facile transierunt, locorum quæ firma et pervia essent, gnari eos Romani insequentes, periclitati sunt. mox quum iterum Germani transivissent, ac superiori loco per pontem quidam transgressi essent, undique barbaris circumfusi, magnam stragem ediderunt; reliquos vero inconsultius consectantes, in paludes invias inciderunt, multosque suorum amiserunt.

The barbarians easily forded the Thames where it runs into the sea and comes to a standstill. This is not a description of the mouth of the Thames as it is now. It is now not possible to say where the river ends and the sea begins. The description given by Dion Cassius is of a river running into a bay, not of a river widening gradually as the Thames does until it becomes open sea. Nevertheless the description may have been quite correct when it was written. The map shows marshes on one or both sides of the river up to the Isle of Dogs. The width of the marshes and the river is never less than a mile and a half wide from Gravesend up to the Isle of Dogs, where they narrow to a mile. Above the Isle of Dogs these marshes stop. R. W. Mylne's *Topographical Map of London* shows that the flat country on the south of London is an older formation than the river marshes. Westminster is partly on a marsh; the Abbey is on what was formerly the island of Thorney. Below Gravesend the marshes soon become much wider. Now if the marshes above Gravesend were formed in the time of Claudius and those below Gravesend were not formed, the river would run into a bay as described by Dion Cassius. A ford at Gravesend could hardly be the one that Julius Cæsar crossed, because it is only 46 miles direct from where he landed, by Ashford

and Aylesford 65, not 80 as stated (5. 9). The difference is too great, though we need not consider the 80 quite exact. The description of Dion Cassius might apply, though not quite so well, if there were no marshes up to the Isle of Dogs. The river would there run into an inlet 2 miles wide. When we look at the great quantities of marsh that have been formed since that time at Romney Marsh, and between the Isle of Thanet and Kent, and elsewhere, it is easy to believe that there were then no marshes below Gravesend. It is not so easy to imagine that there were no marshes between Gravesend and the Isle of Dogs, but it is quite possible. Dion Cassius also states that some of the Romans crossed the river higher up by a bridge. Here is unlimited room for speculation. Does he mean that it was a permanent bridge built by the Britons, or a temporary one built by the Romans? Was it London Bridge? He does not mention a town. We must suppose that it was low tide when the Britons forded the river. We know that it was in summer, when there would not be much water coming down the river. All that we can be sure of from this passage is, that the Thames was fordable at its mouth, at low water, in summer. Julius Cæsar does not mention the tide, nor that the ford was at the mouth of the river. His description reads as if the

ford was not interfered with by the tide, and therefore much higher up than Gravesend.

All the passages just quoted show that in former ages there was from time to time much less water in the Thames at London than we ever see now. This must be due to the sea not coming up so far, or, speaking more correctly, to the sea not keeping back the river water so much. The quantity of fresh water coming down the river in summer is very small compared to what comes up from the sea.

If there were no locks and weirs the water would be less than 4 feet deep in many places above Teddington. Now supposing that the sea did not come up and that the river water could run away freely below London Bridge, the river at London would be no deeper than at Teddington, that is, less than 4 feet in summer, and fordable in many places. There are two reasons possible why the sea should not have come up so far in old times as now. The land may have sunk, or the bed of the river may have been cut down lower by the action of the water or by artificial means. It is not necessary to rely upon the general fall of the land. It is much more likely that the bed of the river has been lowered by the action of the water running backwards and forwards. Something is also due to embanking and dredging. Before the

marshes below London were formed and enclosed the rising tide had more ground to spread over and would not come up to London with such a rush. From the description of Dion Cassius, at the time of Claudius the river appears to have run into a bay. Now the entrance to the river is the shape of a funnel. A strong case of the result of this shape is found in the Severn, where there is a bore or tidal wave when the tide rises. The Bristol Channel is a great funnel. In reading Pepys's *Diary*, which I have done several times, I have been struck by his not mentioning the tide. He was continually going from the city to Whitehall and back by water, and sometimes to Gravesend. Now if we wanted to go either way from London Bridge, we should have to inquire about the tide.

Thorney, the island upon which Westminster Abbey stands, was formed of river mud. The branch of the Thames which ran on the Middlesex side of the island is not yet all filled up, and may be traced on any map of London. The Grosvenor Canal from the river up to Victoria station is part of it, and the water in St James's Park is another part of it. The remainder of the curve can easily be imagined.

I have been informed by a geologist that there is no reason to suppose that the low country to the south of London Bridge was ever overflowed by

the sea at high tide. This is confirmed in the following extract from F. C. J. Spurrell. He is discussing the statement by some writers that the land to the south of London Bridge was covered with water at high tide.

The Archæological Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xlii., 1885: "Early Sites and Embankments on the Margins of the Thames Estuary," by F. C. J. Spurrell, p. 301.—The lake of these writers resolves itself into the supposition of a few inches of water rising over saltings for a few minutes in the day, during a few days in the month, and even the last reduced to a still smaller number of days in the summer months. But I have given reasons to doubt the existence at the time spoken of, of tidal marshes or saltings near London or above Erith, and in pointing out that no barrier existed at Erith or Purfleet or elsewhere to dam up the water of the river. I submit that there was no lake near London, and also that it is probable that the estuary did not reach so far west as at the present day.

I am clearly of opinion that since the Roman occupation the present channel of the river through its alluvium has remained in almost exact relative position with respect to the earthland foot or hard banks from Lambeth to East Tilbury, and certainly so with respect to the more important hards and landing places on the main stream now existing.

At page 274 Spurrell states that in the flat country south of London Bridge the layer with Roman remains is several feet below the present surface, consequently several feet below high water.

There is no mention in history of there ever

having been a ford at or near London, but there is very little doubt that there was at least one. The following extract from Loftie's *London* seems conclusive for one at Westminster. Nothing is known of one at London Bridge.

A History of London, by W. J. Loftie, 1883, vol. i. p. 27.
—If, on the other hand, a road was to cross by a ford, it is likely that the place where the river was most shallow would be the best. The river was deep where it was narrow and shallow where it was broad.

Now, we find that one of the widest places is between Westminster and the site of the new St Thomas's Hospital. In ancient times it was not only wider there than it is now, but the river also spread over a large tract on both sides, which must have been marshy, and probably even foreshore, covered at every high tide. There is still a district called Lambeth Marsh on the right bank; and St James's Park occupies the place of a similarly low-lying, and, not very long since, marshy place. [*Note*.—So lately as the time of Charles II. occasional high tides converted the palace of Whitehall into an island.] If we look at the map, accordingly, we see that a very ancient way passed down what we call Edgware Road, and in a straight line, now slightly diverted, by Park Lane, towards Westminster, where it ran along a low ridge—now Tothill Fields—and so reached the Thames. Again, on the other side, we find a similar road seeking at once the Surrey Hills, and so crossing to the southern coast. This ancient way, which came from Chester and went towards Dover, was called by the English the Watling Street. Its course, as some have observed, follows that of the Milky Way in the starry heaven above; and the same name was applied to both. On the Surrey bank, close to St Thomas's, is a place still called Stangate, or "the paved way." The country road beyond was the "Stane

Street." It is therefore more than probable, and very little less than certain, that the Watling Street crossed the Thames—perhaps by a ford—just here.

This must have been before a certain remarkable event to which we next turn. There is another local name which catches our eye, just across the Thames, near London Bridge. It is Stony Street. The word "Stony" connects it at once with the Stane Street mentioned above. But how comes it there? There can be but one answer, when we observe, first, that an ancient street in the City is called Watling Street. A very small portion of it lies in the old direction, which was from a point on the bank nearly opposite Stony Street, to the north-western corner of the outer city wall. But how can we connect Watling Street with the Edgware Road? The answer comes from an old Saxon charter, of which, unfortunately, only a copy has been preserved, a charter of King Edgar [Note, Widmore's "Enquiry," p. 22; and Kemble, No. 569], in which we read of a "broad military road" between St Andrew's, Holborn and Tyburn. This road connected the Watling Street in London with the Watling Street which came down the Edgware Road: and so we find that the old road which went on to a ford, at Westminster, where the Thames was widest, was diverted to the east, and passed through London to a point on the north bank at which the Thames was narrowest. The reason for the alteration must have been the opening of a better road, by ferry or bridge, at London.

It was hardly necessary to refer to the charter of Edgar about A.D. 970 to prove the existence of the road from the Marble Arch to Holborn. This road and its continuation to the west is shown by its straightness on the map to be a Roman road.

(5. 18.) When Cæsar arrived at the ford, he found the enemy drawn up on the other side.

The bank was defended by sharp stakes, and these were also fixed in the stream under water. Cæsar knew this, and appears to have crossed at some other place, where the water was up to the men's chins. He does not actually say that he did not cross at the ford, but that seems to be his meaning. Otherwise he would have mentioned the difficulties of passing the stakes. Dion Cassius says that he avoided the ford. The enemy were not able to withstand the attack and ran away.

I am inclined to think that Cæsar crossed the Thames at Westminster. It may have been fordable at places from Gravesend upwards, and above Teddington at many places. But from the distance mentioned by Cæsar the crossing must have been near London.

CHAPTER XVIII

NORTH OF THAMES AND BACK TO THE SEA

CÆSAR'S route north of the Thames is not known. There is a general opinion that the town of Cassivellaunus, which he went to, is St Albans or an older town close to it. There are no grounds for this belief. St Albans does not agree with the description of the position of the town in Cæsar or Orosius. As shown in the previous chapter, it is not certain where Cæsar crossed the Thames. Anywhere between the Isle of Dogs and Teddington is possible, but Westminster is the most likely place. From Cæsar's description of his march after he crossed the Thames it would seem that the town was not close to the ford. On the other hand, the time that he was away from the coast was not very long. The town should be looked for from 20 to 50 miles from the ford. If Watling Street was in existence Cæsar may have gone along it from Westminster towards St Albans or further, but

the description does not make him march straight to the town.

(5. 19.) Cassivellaunus, finding that he could not stand up against Cæsar in battle, sent away his army except 4000 chariots, and these hovered round the flanks of the enemy. Cattle and men were sent out of the fields into the woods. When the Roman cavalry went out to forage, the chariots were sent after them by highways and byeways, "*omnibus viis notis semitisque.*" The description in Orosius is much the same in different words.

Orosius, lib. ii. cap. ix. — *Barbari legionum impetum non ferentes, sylvis se abdidere, unde crebris eruptionibus Romanos graviter ac sæpe lacerabant.*

(5. 20.) The Trinobantes, one of the largest tribes in those parts, sent ambassadors to Cæsar. Cassivellaunus had killed their king Imanuentius, and his son Mandubratius had fled to Cæsar in Gaul. The Trinobantes asked Cæsar to send back Mandubratius to them and to defend him against Cassivellaunus. Terms were arranged, including hostages and corn. Orosius uses almost the same words as Cæsar, and also gives the name of the king of the Trinobantes.

Orosius, lib. ii. cap. ix.—*Interia Tribonantum firmissima civitas cum Androgorio duce, datis quadraginta obsidibus, Cæsari sese dedit.*

(5. 21.) Several other tribes submitted to Cæsar. He learnt from them that not far from that place was situated the town of Cassivellaunus, which was defended by woods and marshes, and in which there were great numbers of men and cattle. Orosius is almost a copy of Cæsar.

Orosius, lib. ii. cap. ix. — *Iisdemque demonstrantibus, Cæsar oppidum Cassivellauni inter duas paludes situm, obtentu insuper sylvarum munitum, omnibus rebus confertissimum, tandem gravi pugna cepit.*

From the two descriptions it is clear that Cæsar did not march straight up Watling Street to the town. He only heard of its position some time after he had crossed the Thames. The place was between marshes, which St Albans is not. There is only a river on one side, where there may have been marshes. The nearest place to St Albans with suitable marshes is about 4 miles south, on the river Colne. But there is no evidence that the town was anywhere near here. It may have been near Eton or in the marshes of the river Lee.

Cæsar marched to the town and found it well fortified by nature and art. He attacked it from two sides and soon drove the enemy out. He took numbers of cattle and killed many men. He explains that what the Britons call a town is a wood with obstructions in it, and protected by a wall and ditch. It would be difficult to defend such a

wall because there would be so few men inside compared with the length of the wall. Possibly the wall was only to keep the cattle from straying out or being driven out. A very slight wall would be enough for this purpose if it was steep on the inner side. This description of a town shows that there are not likely to have been any of what we call towns on the way between the coast and the ford.

An attempt has been made to connect Cassivellaunus and the Cassi mentioned by Cæsar with the hundred of Cashio in which St Albans stands. But this suggestion is not likely to be correct. It is improbable that the name should have survived so long. From Cæsar's description it appears that Cassivellaunus was not king of the Cassi. They were opposed to him.

(5. 22.) While these things were going on, Cassivellaunus sent word to the four kings of Kent to attack Cæsar's camp by the sea. They attacked it, but the Romans made a sortie and drove them back with great loss. The garrison were in a very dangerous position. A Roman army in a camp of suitable size had nothing to fear from attacks. But this camp contained the whole of the fleet, and consequently the number of the garrison was very small for the size of the camp. The side towards the sea had to be left open or only pro-

tected by palings, so as to offer no obstruction to launching the ships. Constant watch would have to be kept on this side to prevent the enemy landing and setting fire to the ships. Another danger was that the enemy might cut off or pollute the stream which brought the fresh water to the camp. The garrison was so small that no men could be spared to defend the stream. There could be no wells on the seashore. It may have been anxiety about the fleet that brought Cæsar back to the coast, leaving the army to follow, as mentioned by Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, lib. iii. ep. 1, § 7. 25.

After all these misfortunes, Cassivellaunus submitted. Cæsar decided to go back to Gaul on account of the sudden risings there, the summer being nearly spent. He fixed the yearly tribute that Britain should pay to Rome, and ordered Cassivellaunus not to make war on Mandubratius and the Tribonantes.

(5. 23.) Having received the hostages, Cæsar returned to the coast. He found the ships repaired, and had them drawn down to the sea. As he had a large number of captives, he decided to cross in two trips. Some of the ships could not get back on account of the wind. He waited some time for these ships, and then, as it was near the equinox and the season for crossing nearly past, he crowded the soldiers into the few ships that he had, and

starting between 9 and 12 at night he arrived safely at daylight. For the second time he ran away in the night. It can only have been fear of being attacked as he was embarking that made him do this. Otherwise it would have been much better to start at daybreak. He was arriving in a friendly country.

Dion Cassius, lib. xl. sec. 1. 4.—Thus Cæsar departed wholly from the island, leaving therein no portion of his army, thinking that it would be dangerous for it to winter in a hostile country, and inexpedient for himself to be longer absent from Gaul.

Thus ended Cæsar's second invasion of Britain. The first invasion was, as has been shown, mainly for the purpose of gaining information, and as far as this was concerned it was successful. The object of the second invasion was to conquer Britain. Cæsar may have reasoned that as he had conquered Gaul in four years, there ought to be no difficulty in conquering Britain in one. He did not take into account the difference in the people. The fact that Britain was across the sea made the expedition rather more difficult than the campaigns in Gaul. It ought not to have made much difference. The Romans had been in the habit of carrying on wars across the Mediterranean just as easily as those where they had not to cross the sea. The difficulty was with the enemy.

Cæsar could beat them in a pitched battle or when they were confined in a fortification, but nowhere else. They were much quicker than the Romans and continually took them by surprise. The Romans never seemed to know where the Britons were, but the Britons always knew where the Romans were. The Romans marched about in close order in the open country; the Britons ran through the woods in very loose order. In consequence of the tactics of the Britons, the Romans had great difficulty in collecting as much food as they wanted. They could not have remained here much longer. They would either have been starved out or killed piecemeal. The Senate did not grant Cæsar a festival as they had done the year before. The opinion of the Romans as to the result of the invasion and the hopelessness of trying to conquer the country is shown by the fact that no Roman soldier set foot in Britain for nearly 100 years after this.

CHAPTER XIX

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter II

That the Cassiterides were close to the west of the north-west corner of Spain.

That no proof has yet been found in the classics or elsewhere that the Phœnicians ever were in the Scilly Islands or Cornwall.

Chapter III

That Pytheas of Marseilles went to Iceland about 300 B.C. and called it Thule.

That after that no one went to Iceland for many centuries, and that the name was applied to the furthest known land, some island on the coast of Scotland.

Chapter IV

That before 300 B.C. Britain was peaceful and fairly civilised.

Chapter V

That Britain was the headquarters of the Druids, who were also in the north of Gaul.

Chapter VI

That there was a strait between Kent and the Isle of Thanet in Cæsar's time, and that many inlets and bays in Kent and Sussex have since been filled up with mud deposited by rivers and with shingle, and that large quantities of shingle have been deposited on open coasts.

Chapter VII

That Rutupiæ was on an island where Richborough Castle now stands.

Chapter VIII

That the river Stour ran into the strait between Kent and the Isle of Thanet.

That the tide ran up to Fordwich, but that, from the level of the ground, it is unlikely that it ran up to Canterbury in Cæsar's time.

Chapter IX

That the coast of France east of Cape Gris Nez has undergone great changes.

That no large harbour is known to have been there.

That the best harbour there in the early middle ages was Wissant.

That south of Cape Gris Nez, Boulogne is the nearest and best harbour for a large expedition to start from for England.

Chapter X

That Cæsar could easily beat Gauls, Swiss, or Germans, quite regardless of numbers.

Chapter XI

That Cæsar's choice of starting-point and landing-place was influenced by the necessity of finding fresh water for his troops.

That in his first invasion of Britain he started from Wissant and landed between Deal and Sandwich.

Chapter XII

That the time occupied by the second invasion was two months.

Chapter XIII

That in the second invasion Cæsar started from Boulogne and landed as before between Deal and Sandwich.

Chapter XIV

That Cæsar, knowing that there was not enough fresh water at the landing-place for the army which he brought the second year, started the first night and marched to Canterbury, where he knew that there was plenty of fresh water.

That he made his principal camp there, leaving a strong guard with the ships.

Chapter XVI

That there was a serious battle, the result of which was for some time doubtful.

Chapter XVII

That Cæsar marched to the Thames near London, not direct by Watling Street, but following the course of rivers.

That he crossed the Thames, probably at Westminster, but possibly anywhere between the Isle of Dogs and Teddington.

Chapter XVIII

That nothing is known of Cæsar's movements north of the Thames.

That the second invasion was a failure.

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	PAGE
I. THEOLOGY	2
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III. ORIENTAL LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, AND HISTORY	33
IV. PHILOLOGY, MODERN LANGUAGES	38
V. SCIENCE, MEDICINE, CHEMISTRY, ETC.	44
VI. BIOGRAPHY, ARCHÆOLOGY, LITERATURE, MIS- CELLANEOUS	55
<i>GENERAL INDEX OF TITLES AND AUTHORS</i>	61

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Americans, The. Hugo Münsterberg, 22.
Analysis of Ores. F. C. Phillips, 51.
Analysis of Theology. E. G. Figg, 17.
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Ancient World, Wall Maps of the, 57.
Anglican Liberalism, 12.
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 Dietrichson, L. Monumenta Orcadica, 56.
 Differential and Integral Calculus, The. Axel Harnack, 46.
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 Englehardt, C. Denmark in Iron Age 56
 Engelhardt, V. Electrolysis of Water, 46.
 Engineering Chemistry. T. B. Stillman, 53.
 England and Germany. Erich Marcks, 57.
 English Culture, Rise of. E. Johnson, 57.
 English-Danish Dictionary. S. Rosing, 41.
 English-Icelandic Dictionary. Zoega, 43.
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 Epizootic Lmyphangitis. Capt. Pallin, 51.
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 Eucken, Prof. Life of the Spirit, 12.

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- Evolution, Christ no Product of, 19.
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- Freezing Point, The. Jones, 47.
- French Composition. Jas. Boëlle, 39.
- French History, First Steps in. F. F. Roget, 41.
- French Language, Grammar of. Eugène, 39.
- Fuerst, Dr Jul. Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, 34.
- Gammarus. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 48.
- Gardner, Prof. Percy. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
- General Language of the Incas of Peru, 40.
- Genesis, Book of, in Hebrew Text. Rev. C. H. H. Wright, 27.
- Genesis, Hebrew Text, 34.
- Geometry, Analytical, Elements of. Hardy, 46.
- German Idioms, Short Guide to. Weiss, 42.
- German Literature, A Short Sketch of. V. Philipps, B.A., 41.
- German, Systematic Conversational Exercises in. T. H. Weiss, 42.
- Gibson, R. J. Harvey. Codium, 48.
- Giles, Lt.-Col. Anti-Malarial Measures in Sekondi, etc., 50.
- Gill, C. Book of Enoch, 17; Evolution of Christianity, 17.
- Gladstone as I Knew Him. Robert Brown, 55.
- Glimpses of Tennyson. A. G. Weld, 59.
- Goethe, W. v. Annotated Texts, 39.
- Goldammer, H. The Kindergarten, 56.
- Gospels in Greek, First Three, 15.
- Greek Ideas, Lectures on. Rev. Dr. Hatch, 13.
- Greek, Modern, A Course of. Zompolides, 43.
- Greek New Testament, 6.
- Green, Rev. A. A. Child and Religion, 10.
- Gulistan, The (Rose Garden) of Shaik Sadi of Shiraz, 36.
- Gymnastics, Medical Indoor. Dr. Schreber, 52.
- Haddon, A. C. Decorative Art of British Guinea, Cunningham Memoir, 45.
- Hagmann, J. G., Ph.D. Reform in Primary Education, 39.
- Handley, Rev. H. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
- Hantzsch, A. Elements of Stereochemistry, 46.
- Hardy. Elements of Analytical Geometry, 46; Infinitesimals and Limits, 46.
- Harnack, Adolf. Acts of the Apostles, 12; History of Dogma, 4; Letter to the "Preussische Jahrbucher," 18; Luke the Physician, 12; Mission and Expansion of Christianity, 3; Monasticism, 17; The Sayings of Jesus, 12; What is Christianity? 5, 10.
- Harnack, Adolf, and Herrmann, W. Essays on the Social Gospel, 11.
- Harnack and his Oxford Critics. Saunders, 24.
- Harnack, Axel. Differential and Integral Calculus, 46.
- Harrison, A. Women's Industries, 56.
- Hart, Edward, Ph.D. Chemistry for Beginners, 46; Second Year Chemistry, 46.
- Hatch, Rev. Dr. Lectures on Greek Ideas, 13.
- Haughton, Rev. Samuel, M.A., M.D. New Researches on Sun-Heat, 45.
- Hausrath. History of the New Test. Times, 7.
- Head, Sir Edmund, translated by. Viga Glums Saga, 42.
- Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. Dr. Fuerst, 34.
- Hebrew Language, The. F. Delitzsch, 33.
- Hebrew, New School of Poets, 35.
- Hebrew Religion. W. E. Addis, 11.
- Hebrew Story. Peters, 10.
- Hebrew Texts, 18.
- Henry, Jas. Æneidea, 56.
- Henslow, Rev. G. The Argument of Adaptation, 18; The At-one-ment, 19; Christ no Product of Evolution, 19; Spiritual Teachings of Bible Plants, 19; Spiritual Teaching of Christ's Life, 19; The Vulgate, 19.
- Henson, Rev. Canon Hensley. Child and Religion, 10.
- Herbert, Hon. A. Sacrifice of Education, 56.
- Herbert, Hon. A., and Wager, H. Bad Air and Bad Health, 56.
- Herdman, Prof. W. A. Ascidia, 47.
- Herford, R. Travers, B.A. Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, 19.
- Herrmann, W. Communion, 5, 11; Faith and Morals, 10.
- Herrmann and Harnack. Essay on the Social Gospel, 11.
- Heterogenesis, Studies in. H. Bastian, 44.
- Hewitt, C. Gordon. Ligia, 48.
- Hilbert Journal, The, 19.
- Hilbert Lectures, The, 13, 14.
- Hickson, Sydney J. Alcyonium, 48.
- Hill, Rev. Dr. G. Child and Religion, 10.
- Hindu Chemistry. Prof. P. C. Ray, 51.
- Hirsch, Dr. S. A., and W. Aldis Wright, edited by. Commentary on Job, 27.
- History of the Church. Hans von Schubert, 3.
- History of Dogma. Adolf Harnack, 4.
- History of Jesus of Nazara. Keim, 7.
- History of the Hebrews. R. Kittel, 5.
- History of the Literature of the O.T. Kautzsch, 20.
- History of the New Test. Times. Hausrath, 7.
- Hodgson, S. H. Philosophy and Experience, 28; Reorganisation of Philosophy, 28.

- Hoerning, Dr. R. The Karaite MSS., 19.
Höfer, E. Erzählungen, 38.
Hoff, J. H. Van't. Chemical Dynamics, 47.
Hogan, E. Cath Ruis Na Rig For Boinn, 39 ;
Latin Lives, 39 ; Irish Nennius, 39
Horner, G. Statutes, The, of the Apostles, 36.
Horse, Life-Size Models of, 47 ; Surgical Anatomy
of. J. T. Share-Jones, 47.
Horton, Dr. R. Child and Religion, 10.
How to Teach the Bible. Mitchell, 22.
Howe, J. L. Inorganic Chemistry, 47.
Hugo, Victor. Les Misérables, 39 ; Notre Dame,
40.
Human Sternum, The. A. M. Paterson, 51.
Human Tick Fever, Nature of. J. E. Dutton, and
J. L. Todd, 46.
Hunter, Dr. John. De Profundis Clamavi, 20 ;
The Coming Church, 20.
Hygiene, Handbook of. Bergey, 44.
Hymns of Duty and Faith. Jones, 20.
Icelandic Grammar. Rev. G. Bayldon, 38.
Idea of God. Alviella, Count Goblet D', 13.
Imms, A. D. Anurida, 48.
Incarnate Purpose, The. Percival, 22.
Indian Buddhism. Rhys Davids, 13.
Individualism and Collectivism. Dr. C. W. Saleeby,
29.
Indoor Gymnastics, Medical, 52.
Industrial Remuneration Methods of. D. F.
Schloss, 58.
Infinitesimals and Limits. Hardy, 46.
Inflammation Idea. W. H. Ransom, 51
Influence of Rome on Christianity. Renan, 13.
Inorganic Chemistry. J. L. Howe, 46.
Inorganic Qualitative Chemical Analysis. Leaven-
worth, 48.
Introduction to the Greek New Test. Nestle, 6.
Introduction to the Old Test. Cornill, 2.
Irish Nennius, The. E. Hogan, 39.
Isaiah, Hebrew Text, 34.
Ismailia, Malarial Measures at. Boyce, 49.
Jesus. Wilhelm Bousset, 11.
Jesus of Nazara. Keim, 7.
Jesus, Sayings of. Harnack, 18.
Jesus, The Real. Vickers, 26.
Job, Book of. G. H. Bateson Wright, 27.
Job, Book of. Rabbinic Commentary on, 37.
Job. Hebrew Text, 34.
Johnson, Edwin, M.A. Antiqua Mater, 20 ; English
Culture, 20 ; Rise of Christendom, 20.
Johnstone, J. British Fisheries, 47 ; Cardium, 48.
Jones. The Freezing Point, 47.
Jones, Prof. Henry. Child and Religion, 10.
Jones, Rev. J. C. Child and Religion, 10.
Jones, J. T. Share. Life-Size Models of the Horse,
47 ; Surgical Anatomy of the Horse, 47.
Jones, Rev. R. Crompton. Hymns of Duty and
Faith, 20 ; Chants. Psalms and Canticles, 20 ;
Anthems, 20 ; The Chants and Anthems, 20 ; A
Book of Prayer, 20.
Journal of the Federated Malay States, 60.
Journal of the Linnean Society. Botany and
Zoology, 47, 60.
Journal of the Quekett Microscopical Club, 47, 60.
Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society, 47, 60.
Justice. Herbert Spencer, 31.
Kantian Ethics. J. G. Schurman, 29.
Karaite MSS. Dr. R. Hoerning, 19.
Kautzsch, E. History of the Literature of the Old
Testament, 20.
Keim. History of Jesus of Nazara, 7.
Kennedy, Rev. Jas. Introduction to Biblical
Hebrew, 34 ; Hebrew Synonyms, 34.
Kiepert's New Atlas Antiquus, 57.
Kiepert's Wall-Maps of the Ancient World, 57.
Kindergarten, The. H. Goldammer, 56.
Kittel, R. History of the Hebrews, 5.
Knight, edited by. Essays on Spinoza, 32.
Knowledge, Evolution of. Perrin, 22.
Kuenen, Dr. A. National Religions and Universal
Religion, 13 ; Religion of Israel, 8.
Laboratory Experiments. Noyes and Mulliken,
51.
Ladd, Prof. G. T. Child and Religion, 10.
Lake, Kirsopp. Resurrection, 12.
Landolt, Hans. Optical Rotating Power, 47.
Langenbeck. The Chemistry of Pottery, 48.
Latin Lives of the Saints. E. Hogan, 39
Laurie, Prof. Simon. Ethica. 28 ; Metaphysica
Nova et Vetusta, 28.
Lea, Henry Chas. Sacerdotal Celibacy, 21.
Leabhar Breac, 40
Leabhar Na H-Uidhri, 40.
Leavenworth, Prof. W. S. Inorganic Qualitative
Chemical Analysis, 48.
Leblanc, Dr. Max. The Production of Chromium,
48.
Le Coup de Pistolet. Merimée, 38.
Lepeophtheirus and Lernea. *Vide* L.M.B.C.
Memoirs, 48.
Letter to the "Preussische Jahrbucher." Adolt
Harnack, 18.
Lettsom, W. N., trans. by. Nibelungenlied, 41.
Liberal Christianity. Jean Réville, 9.
Life and Matter. Sir O. Lodge, 21.
Life of the Spirit, The. Eucken, 12.
Lilja. Edited by E. Magnusson, 40.
Lilley, Rev. A. I. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
Lineus. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 48.
Linnean Society of London, Journals of, 60.
Liverpool, a History of. Muir, 57.
Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs,
1.—XVI., 48.
Liverpool, Municipal Government in. Muir and
Platt, 58
Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine Memoirs,
49.
Lobstein, Paul. Virgin Birth of Christ, 9.
Lodge, Sir O. Life and Matter, 21 ; School
Teaching and School Reform, 40.
Logarithmic Tables. Sang, 52 ; Schroen, 53.
London Library, Catalogue of, 56.
Long, J. H. A Text-book of Urine Analysis, 49.
Luke the Physician. Adolf Harnack, 12.
Lyll, C. J., M.A. Ancient Arabian Poetry, 34.
Macan, R. W. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ,
21.
Machberoth, Ithiel. Thomas Chenery, 35.
Mackay, R. W. Rise and Progress of Christian-
ity, 21.
Mackenzie, Malcolm. Social and Political Dyna-
mics, 28.

- Magnusson, edited by. Lilja, 40.
- Mahabharata, Index to. S. Sorensen, 36.
- Mahaffy, J. P., D.D. Flinders Petrie Papyri. Cunningham Memoirs, 45.
- Malaria Expedition to Nigeria, Report of. Annett, Dutton, and Elliott, 44.
- Man *versus* the State. Herbert Spencer, 31.
- Maori, Lessons in. Right Rev. W. L. Williams, 43.
- Maori, New and Complete Manual of. 40.
- Marchant, James. Theories of the Resurrection, 21.
- Marcks, Erich. England and Germany, 57.
- Markham, Sir Clements, K.C.B. Vocabularies of the Incas of Peru, 40.
- Martineau, Rev. Dr. James. Modern Materialism, 21: Relation between Ethics and Religion, 21.
- Mason, Prof. W. P. Notes on Qualitative Analysis, 49.
- Massoretic Text. Rev. Dr. J. Taylor, 25.
- Masterman, C. F. G. Child and Religion, 10.
- Meade, R. K. Portland Cement, 49.
- Mediaeval Thought, History of. R. Lane Poole, 23.
- Memoirs of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, 49, 50.
- Ménégoz, E. Religion and Theology, 21.
- Mercer, Right Rev. J. Edward, D.D. Soul of Progress, 21.
- Merimée, Prosper. Le Coup de Pistolet, 38.
- Metallic Objects, Production of. Dr. W. Pfanhauser, 51.
- Metallurgy. Wysor, 54.
- Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta. Prof. Simon Laurie, 28.
- Midrash, Christianity in. Herford, 19.
- Milando Panho, The. Edited by V. Trenckner, 35.
- Mission and Expansion of Christianity. Adolf Harnack, 3.
- Mitchell, Rev. A. F. How to Teach the Bible, 22.
- Modern Materialism. Rev. Dr. James Martineau, 21.
- Moisson, Henri. Electric Furnace, 50.
- Molecular Weights, Methods of Determining. Henry Biltz, 44.
- Monasticism. Adolf Harnack, 17.
- Montefiore, C. G. Religion of the Ancient Hebrews, 13.
- Monumenta Orcadica. L. Dietrichson, 56.
- Moorhouse Lectures. *Vide* Mercer's Soul of Progress, 21; Stephen, Democracy and Character 25.
- Morrison, Dr. W. D. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
- Mosheh ben Shesheth. S. R. Driver, edited by, 16.
- Moslem Present. Faizullah-Bhai, Shaikh, B.D., 34.
- Muir, Prof. Ramsay. History of Liverpool, 57.
- Muir and Platt. History of Municipal Government in Liverpool, 58.
- Münsterberg, Hugo. The Americans, 22.
- Muss-Arnolt, W. A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, 35.
- My Struggle for Light. R. Wimmer, 9.
- Mystery of Newman. Henri Bremond, 15.
- National Idealism and State Church, 16; and the Book of Common Prayer, 16.
- National Religions and Universal Religion. Dr. A. Kuenen, 13.
- Native Religions of Mexico and Peru. Dr. A. Réville, 14.
- Naturalism and Religion. Dr. Rudolf Otto, 22.
- Nautical Terms. L. Delbos, 39.
- Nestle. Introduction to the Greek New Test., 6.
- New Hebrew School of Poets. Edited by H. Brody and K. Albrecht, 35.
- Newstead, R. Another New Dermanyssid Acarid, 50; Newstead, R., and J. L. Todd. A New Dermanyssid Acarid, 50.
- New Zealand Language, Dictionary of. Rt. Rev. W. L. Williams, 42.
- Nibelungenlied. Trans. W. L. Lettsom, 41.
- Nissenson. Arrangements of Electrolytic Laboratories, 50.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. *Delectus Veterum*, 35; *Syriac Grammar*, 35.
- Norris, E. Assyrian Dictionary, 35.
- Norseman in the Orkneys. Dietrichson, 56.
- Noyes, A. A. Organic Chemistry, 50.
- Noyes, A. A., and Milliken, Samuel. Laboratory Experiments, 51.
- O'Grady, Standish H. *Silva Gadelica*, 41.
- Old and New Certainty of the Gospel. Alex. Robinson, 24.
- Oldenberg, Dr. H., edited by. Dipavamsa, The, 33; Vinaya Pitakam, 37.
- Old French, Introduction to. F. F. Roget, 41.
- Oordt, J. F. Van, B.A. Cape Dutch, 41.
- Ophthalmic Test Types. Snellen's, 53.
- Optical Rotating Power. Hans Landolt, 47.
- "Opus Majus" of Roger Bacon, 28.
- Organic Chemistry. A. A. Noyes, 51.
- Otia Merseana, 58.
- Otto, Rudolf. Naturalism and Religion, 11.
- Outlines of Church History. Von Schubert, 3.
- Outlines of Psychology. Wilhelm Wundt, 32.
- Pali, Handbook of. Dr. O. Frankfurter, 34.
- Pali Miscellany. V. Trenckner, 35.
- Pallin, Capt. W. A. A Treatise on Epizootic Lymphangitis, 51.
- Parker, W. K., F.R.S. Morphology of the Duck Tribe and the Auk Tribe, 45.
- Patella. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 48.
- Paterson, A. M. The Human Sternum, 51.
- Paul. Baur, 7; Pfeiderer, 13; Weinel, 3.
- Paulinism. Pfeiderer, 8.
- Pearson, Joseph. Cancer, 48.
- Peddle, R. A. Printing at Brescia, 58.
- Percival, G. H. The Incarnate Purpose, 22.
- Perrin, R. S. Evolution of Knowledge, 22.
- Persian Language, A Grammar of. J. T. Platts, 36.
- Peters, Dr. John P. Early Hebrew Story, 10.
- Pfanzauser, Dr. W. Production of Metallic Objects, 51.
- Pfeiderer, Otto. Early Christian Conception, 10; Lectures on Apostle Paul, 13; Paulinism, 8; Philosophy of Religion, 8; Primitive Christianity, 2.
- Phillips, F. C. Analysis of Ores, 51.
- Phillips, V., B.A. Short Sketch of German Literature, 41.

- Philo Judæus. Dr. Drummond, 16.
 Philosophy and Experience. Hodgson, 28.
 Philosophy of Religion. Pfeiderer, 8.
 Piddington, H. Sailor's Horn Book, 51.
 Pikler, Jul. Psychology of the Belief in Objective Existence, 29.
 Platts, J. T. A Grammar of the Persian Language, 36.
 Pleuronectes. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 48.
 Pocket Flora of Edinburgh. C. O. Sonntag, 53.
 Poole, Reg. Lane. History of Mediæval Thought, 23.
 Portland Cement. Meade, 49.
 Pray, Dr. Astigmatic Letters, 51.
 Prayers for Christian Worship. Sadler, 24.
 Prehistoric Times. Lord Avebury, 55.
 Pre-Islamitic Arabic Poetry. Shaikh Faizullah-Bhai, B.D., 34.
 Primitive Christianity. Otto Pfeiderer, 2.
 Primitive Constellations, Origin of. Robt. Brown, 55.
 Printing at Brescia. R. A. Peddie, 58.
 Prison, The. H. B. Brewster, 28.
 Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, 29.
 Proceedings of the Optical Convention, 51.
 Prolegomena. Réville, 8.
 Protestant Commentary on the New Testament, 8, 23.
 Psalms, Hebrew Text, 34.
 Psychology of the Belief in Objective Existence. Jul. Pikler, 29.
 Psychology, Principles of, Spencer, 30; Outlines of, Wundt, 32.
 Punnett, R. C. Lineus, 48.
 Qualitative Analysis, Notes on. Prof. W. P. Mason, 49.
 Ransom, W. H. The Inflammation Idea, 51.
 Rapport sur l'Expédition au Congo. Dutton and Todd, 46.
 Rashdall, Dr. Hastings. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
 Ray, Prof. P. C. Hindu Chemistry, 51.
 Real Jesus, The. J. Vickers, 26.
 Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte. Herbert Spencer, 31.
 Re-Creation. Rev. C. W. Formby, 17.
 Reform in Primary Education. J. G. Hagmann, 39.
 Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Rev. Dr. C. Beard, 15.
 Rejoinder to Prof. Weismann, 31.
 Relation between Ethics and Religion. Rev. Dr. James Martineau, 21.
 Religion and Modern Culture. Sabatier, 10.
 Religion and Theology. E. Ménégoz, 21.
 Religion of Ancient Egypt. Renouf, 14.
 Religion of Israel. Kuenen, 8.
 Religion of the Ancient Hebrews. C. G. Montefiore, 13.
 Religions of Ancient Babylonia and Assyria. Prof. A. H. Sayce, 36.
 Religions of Authority and the Spirit. Auguste Sabatier, 3.
 Renan, E. Influence of Rome on Christianity, 13.
 Renouf, P. L. Religion of Ancient Egypt, 14.
 Reorganisation of Philosophy. Hodgson, 28.
 Report of Malarial Expedition to Nigeria, 44.
 Report of the Yellow Fever Expedition to Para, 1900. Durham and Myers, 49.
 Reports on the Sanitation and Anti-Malarial Measures at Bathurst, 44.
 Reports of Thompson-Yates Laboratories, 52.
 Resurrection of Jesus Christ. Lake, 21; R. W. Macan, 21; Marchant, 21.
 Réville, Dr. A. Native Religions of Mexico and Peru, 14; Prolegomena, 8.
 Réville, Jean. Liberal Christianity, 9.
 Rhys, Prof. J. Celtic Heathendom, 14.
 Rise and Progress of Christianity. R. W. Mackay, 21.
 Rise of Christendom. Edwin Johnson, 20.
 Rise of English Culture. Edwin Johnson, 20.
 Rix, Herbert. Dawning Faith, 22; Tent and Testament, 22.
 Robinson, Alex. Old and New Certainty of the Gospel, 24; Study of the Saviour, 24.
 Roget, F. F. First Steps in French History, 41; Introduction to Old French, 41.
 Rosing, S. English-Danish Dictionary, 41.
 Ross, R. Campaign against Mosquitoes in Sierra Leone, 49; Malaria at Ismalia and Suez, 49; Malarial Expedition to Sierra Leone, 49; Malarial Fever, 49.
 Royal Astronomical Society. Memoirs and Monthly Notices, 60.
 Royal Dublin Society. Transactions and Proceedings, 60.
 Royal Irish Academy. Transactions and Proceeding, 60.
 Royal Society of Edinburgh. Transactions of, 60.
 Runcorn Research Laboratories. Parasite of Tick Fever, 50.
 Runes, The. Geo. Stephens, 58.
 Runic Monuments, Old Northern. Geo. Stephens, 58.
 Ruth, Book of, in Hebrew Text. Rev. C. H. H. Wright, 27.
 Sabatier, Auguste. Doctrine of the Atonement, 10; Religions of Authority and the Spirit, 3.
 Sacerdotal Celibacy. Henry Chas. Lea, 21.
 Sacrifice of Education. Hon. A. Herbert, 56.
 Sadi. The Gulistan (Rose Garden) of Shaik Sadi of Shiraz, 36.
 Sadler, Rev. Dr. Closet Prayers, 24; Prayers for Christian Worship, 24.
 Sailors' Horn Book. H. Piddington, 51.
 Saleeby, C. W. Individualism and Collectivism, 29.
 Sang's Logarithms, 52.
 Sanitary Conditions of Cape Coast Town. Taylor. M. L., 49.
 Sanitation and Anti-Malarial Measures. Lt.-Col. Giles, 46.
 Saunders, T. B. Harnack and his Critics, 24.
 Savage, M. J. Beliefs about the Bible, 24.
 Sayce, Prof. A. H. Religion of Ancient Assyria, 14.
 Sayings of Jesus, The. Adolf Harnack, 12.
 Schiller. Ballads, 41.
 Schloss, D. F. Methods of Industrial Remuneration, 58.
 School Teaching and School Reform. Sir O. Lodge, 40.

- Schrader. The Cuneiform Inscriptions, 8.
- Schreher, D. G. M. Medical Indoor Gymnastics, 52.
- Schroen, L. Seven-Figure Logarithms, 53.
- Schubert, Hans von. History of the Church, 3.
- Schurman, J. Gould. Ethical Import of Darwinism, 29; Kantian Ethics, 29.
- Scott, Andrew. Lepeophtheirus and Lernea, 48.
- Scott, E. F. Apologetic of the New Test., 12.
- Scripture, Edward W., Ph.D. Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory, 29.
- Second Year Chemistry. Edward Hart, 46.
- Seeberg, R. Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion, 12.
- Seger. Collected Writings, 53.
- Semitic Influence. Robt. Brown, 55.
- Seven-Figure Logarithms. L. Schroen, 53.
- Severus, Patriarch of Antioch. Letters of, 25.
- Sharpe, Samuel. Bible, translated, by, 15.
- Shearman, A. T. Symbolic Logic, 29.
- Shihab Al Din. Futuh Al-Habashah. Ed. by S. Strong, 36.
- Short History of the Hebrew Text. T. H. Weir, 16.
- Sierra Leone, Campaign against Mosquitoes in. Ross and Taylor, 49.
- Sierra Leone, The Malarial Expedition to, 1899. Ross, Annett, and Austen, 49.
- Silva Gadelica. Standish H. O'Grady, 41.
- Sleeping Sickness, Distribution and Spread of, 50.
- Smith, Martin R. What I Have Taught My Children, 25.
- Snellen's Ophthalmic Test Types, 53.
- Snyder, Harry. Soils and Fertilisers, 53.
- Social and Political Dynamics. Malcolm Mackenzie, 28.
- Social Gospel, Essays on the, 11.
- Social Statics. Herbert Spencer, 31.
- Sociology, Principles of. Herbert Spencer, 30.
- Sociology, Study of. Herbert Spencer, 31.
- Soden, H. von, D.D. Books of the New Testament, 11.
- Soils. *Vide* Wiley's Agricultural Analysis, 54.
- Soils and Fertilisers. Snyder, 53.
- Sonntag, C. O. A Pocket Flora of Edinburgh, 53.
- Sorensen, S. Index to the Mahahharata, 36.
- Soul of Progress. Bishop Mercer, 21.
- Spanish Dictionary, Larger. Velasquez, 42.
- Spencer, Herbert. Drey on Herbert Spencer's Theory of Religion and Morality, 32.
- Spencer, Herbert. An Autobiography, 30; A System of Synthetic Philosophy, 30; Descriptive Sociology, Nos. 1-8, 31; Theory of Religion and Morality, 32; Works by, 30-32.
- Spinal Cord, Topographical Atlas of. Alex. Bruce, M.A., etc., 44.
- Spinoza. Edited by Prof. Knight, 32.
- Spiritual Teaching of Christ's Life. Henslow, 19.
- Statuette, The, and the Background. H. B. Brewster, 28.
- Statutes, The, of the Apostles. G. Horner, 25, 36.
- Stephen, Canon. Democracy and Character, 25.
- Stephens, Geo. Bugge's Studies on Northern Mythology Examined, 58; Old Northern Runic Monuments, 58; The Runes, 58.
- Stephens, J. W. W. Study of Malaria, 53.
- Stephens, Thos., B.A., Editor "The Child and Religion," 10.
- Stephens and R. Newstead. Anatomy of the Proboscis of Biting Flies, 50.
- Stereochemistry, Elements of. Hantzsch, 46.
- Stewart, Rev. C. R. S. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
- Stillman, T. B. Engineering Chemistry, 53.
- Storms. Piddington, 51.
- Strong, S. Arthur, ed. by. Shihab Al Din, 36.
- Study of the Saviour. Alex. Robinson, 24.
- Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory. Edward W. Scripture, Ph.D., 29.
- Studies on Northern Mythology. Geo. Stephens, 58.
- Sullivan, W. K. Celtic Studies, 41.
- Surgical Anatomy of the Horse. J. T. Share Jones, 47.
- Symbolic Logic. A. T. Shearman, 29.
- Synthetic Philosophy, Epitome of. F. H. Collins, 32.
- Syriac Chrestomathy. Bernstein and Kirsch, 33.
- Syriac Grammar. Theodor Nöldeke, 35.
- System of Synthetic Philosophy. Herbert Spencer, 30.
- Taylor, Rev. John James. Character of the Fourth Gospel, 25.
- Taylor, Rev. C. Dirge of Coheleth, The, 25.
- Taylor, Rev. Dr. J. Massoretic Text, 25.
- Taylor. Sanitary Conditions of Cape Coast Town, 49.
- Ten Services and Psalms and Canticles, 26.
- Ten Services of Public Prayer, 26.
- Tennant, Rev. F. R. Child and Religion, 10.
- Tent and Testament. Herbert Rix, 23.
- Testament, Old. Canonical Books of, 2; Religions of, 11; Cuneiform Inscriptions, 24; Hebrew Text, Weir, 26; Literature, 20.
- Testament, The New, Critical Notes on. C. Tischendorf, 26, 27.
- Testament Times, New. Acts of the Apostles, 12; Apologetic of, 12; Books of the, 11; Commentary. Protestant, 8; History of, 7; Luke the Physician, 12; Textual Criticism, 6.
- Test Types. Pray, 51; Snellen, 53.
- Text and Translation Society, Works by, 37.
- Theories of Anarchy and of Law. H. B. Brewster, 28.
- Theories of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. James Marchant, 21.
- Thermometer, History of the. Bolton, 44.
- Thomas, Rev. J. M. L. A Free Catholic Church, 26.
- Thomas and Breinl. Trypanosomiasis and Sleeping Sickness, 50.
- Thornton, Rev. J. J. Child and Religion, 10.
- Tischendorf, C. The New Testament, 26.
- Todd Lectures Series, 41-42.
- Tower, O. F. Conductivity of Liquids, 54.
- Transactions of the Royal Dublin Society, 54.
- Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 54.
- Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 54.
- Trenckner, V. Pali Miscellany, 35.
- Trypanosomiasis Expedition to Senegambia. J. L. Dutton and J. L. Todd, 46, 49.
- Turpie, Dr. D. M'C. Manual of the Chaldean Language, 37.
- Universal Christ. Rev. Dr. C. Beard, 15.

- Universalism Asserted. Rev. Thos. Allin, 14.
 Upton, Rev. C. B. Basis of Religious Belief, 14.
 Urine Analysis, A Text-Book of. Long, 49.
- Vaillante, Vincent, 38.
 Various Fragments. Herbert Spencer, 31.
 Vega. Logarithmic Tables, 54.
 Veiled Figure, The, 58.
 Velasquez. Larger Spanish Dictionary, 42.
 Venable, T. C. Development of the Periodic Law, 54; Study of Atom, 54.
 Via, Veritas, Vita. Dr. Drummond, 13.
 Vickers, J. The Real Jesus, 26; The Crucifixion Mystery, 26.
 Viga Glums Saga. Sir E. Head, 42.
 Vinaya Pitakam. Dr. Oldenberg, 37.
 Vincent, Jacques. Vaillante, 38.
 Virgin Birth of Christ. Paul Lobstein, 9.
 Vulgate, The. Henslow, 19.
 Vynne and Blackburn. Women under the Factory Acts, 58.
- Wallis, H. W. Cosmology of the Rigveda, 37.
 Was Israel ever in Egypt? G. H. B. Wright, 27.
 Weir, T. H. Short History of the Hebrew Text, 26.
 Weisse, T. H. Elements of German, 42; Short Guide to German Idioms, 42; Systematic Conversational Exercises in German, 42.
 Weizsäcker, Carl von. The Apostolic Age, 6.
 Weld, A. G. Glimpses of Tennyson, 59.
 Werner's Elementary Lessons in Cape Dutch, 42.
 Wernle, Paul. Beginnings of Christianity, 4.
 What I Have Taught my Children. Martin R. Smith, 25.
 What is Christianity? Adolf Harnack, 5, 10.
- Wicksteed, Rev. P. H. Ecclesiastical Institutions of Holland, 27.
 Wiley, Harvey W. Agricultural Chemical Analysis, 54.
 Wilkinson, Rev. J. R. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
 Williams, Right. Rev. W. L., D.C.L. Dictionary of the New Zealand Language, 42; Lessons in Maori, 42.
 Wimmer, R. My Struggle for Light, 9.
 Women's Industries. A. Harrison, 56.
 Women's Suffrage. Helen Blackburn, 55.
 Women under the Factory Acts. Vynne and Blackburn, 58.
 Woods, Dr. H. G. Anglican Liberalism, 12.
 Wright, Rev. C. H. H. Book of Genesis in Hebrew Text, 27; Book of Ruth in Hebrew Text, 27; Daniel and its Critics, 27; Daniel and his Prophecies, 27; Light from Egyptian Papyri, 27.
 Wright, G. H. Bateson. Book of Job, 27; Was Israel ever in Egypt? 27.
 Wright, W., and Dr. Hirsch, edited by. Commentary on the Book of Job, 27.
 Wundt, Wilhelm. Outlines of Psychology, 32.
 Wysor. Metallurgy, 54.
- Yale Psychological Laboratory, Studies from, 32.
 Yellow Book of Lecan, 43.
 Yellow Fever Expedition, Report of. Durham and Myers, 45.
 Yellow Fever Prophylaxis. Rubert Boyce, 44.
- Zoega, G. T. English-Icelandic Dictionary, 43.
 Zompolides, Dr. D. A Course of Modern Greek, 43.

